

MARCH, 1913

*The*

PRICE TEN CENTS

# INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

THE FIGHTING MAGAZINE  
OF THE WORKING CLASS



New Shoes for the Striking Coal Miners' Children—Mother Jones on the Right

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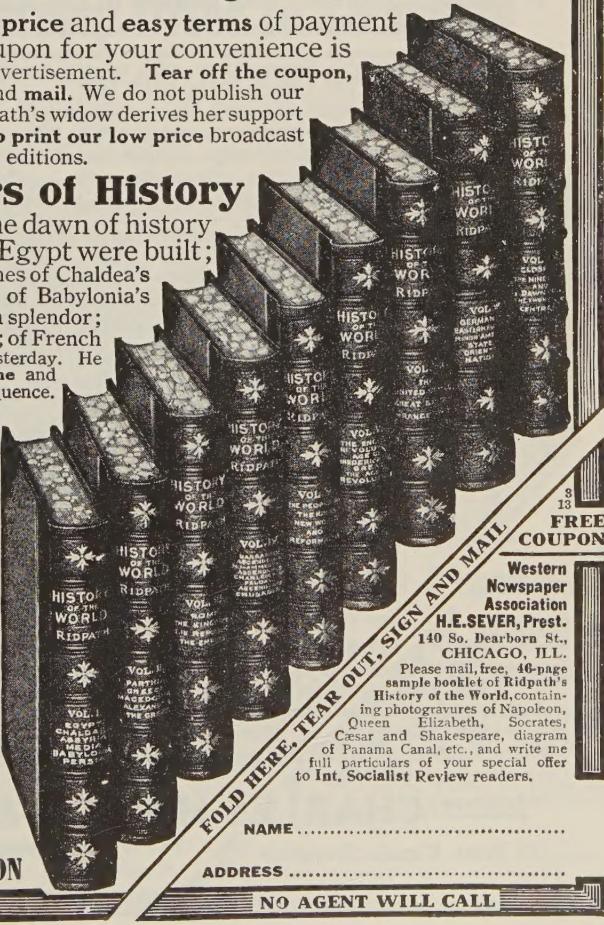
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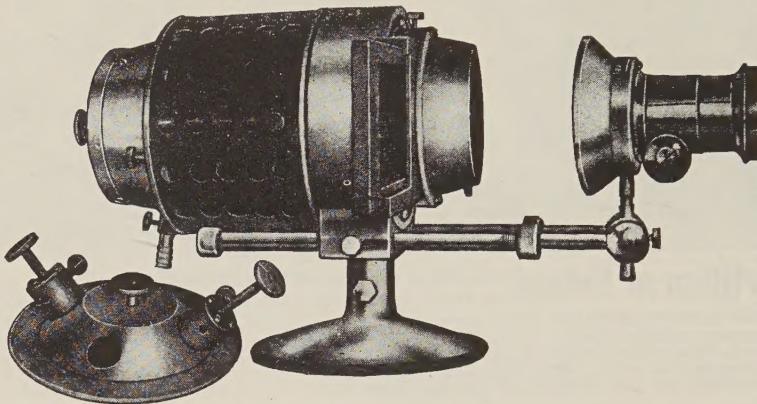


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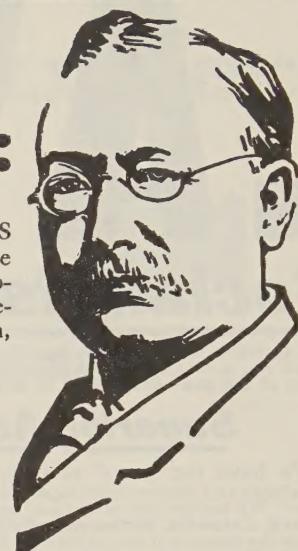
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# THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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*The Editor is responsible only for views expressed on the editorial page and in unsigned department matter. Each contributor and associate editor is responsible for views expressed over his own signature.*

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*Editorial: A Straw Man : Sabotage : International Notes : News and Views.*

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*The*  
**INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

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**VOL. XIII**

**MARCH, 1913**

**No. 9**

## **ON THE STRIKE FIELD**

### **The Fight in the Mountains**

Two months ago it looked as though the West Virginia miners would win their long fight against the operators. As cold weather came on and troops and police drove the families of the miners off company property, they were not permitted to stop on public land. So the miners secured tents and took their families and few belongings up into the mountains.

And all through the cold of winter, they have gathered together to talk unionism and Socialism and to weld the group into a band that would hold out until the strike was won.

The company-employed trouble-makers have been always on the ground looking for an opening to start something. Children have been kidnapped; women have been assaulted. Men have been deliberately picked off and shot by brutes hiding in ambush.

There occurred many clashes between "guards" and strikers. It seems to be the business of the "guards" to kill a few miners now and then to stir the others into violence.

The miners who have withdrawn from the property district of the mine owners, who have taken refuge for their families in the mountains ARE NOT TO BE ALLOWED ANY PEACE.

Sheriff Hill of Kanawha County, with a posse of twenty-five deputies was unable to enter the strikers' camp. The miners declared he was going too far to try to take armed men into their peaceful camps after the mine owners' thugs

had virtually driven them into the mountains by actual murder. All approach to the miners' camps were carefully guarded by strikers who occupied commanding positions on the mountain sides.

The mine owners were at their wits end. The United Mine Workers promised the strikers aid. The strikers swore they would GAIN something or stay out forever.

Then came His Honor, Governor Glasscock, the colleague of Theodore Roosevelt, the vaunted PROGRESSIVE—the "friend of the workingman." Five companies of militia were ordered to the scene and a sixth company called from Mucklow. Martial Law will probably be declared again.

Put this where you will never forget it. This Progressive Governor has shown himself more surely the servant of the mine owners than any old time politician could possibly have done. He has sent troops into the mountains who will SEARCH OUT and shoot innocent women and children and miners who have been persecuted in their retreat.

Telephone and telegraph wires have been cut. More troops are on their way to the mountains. February 11, at the first encounter, the long range rifles of the militia killed thirteen miners and wounded fifteen more. The capitalist papers report that "three mine guards were also killed."

If there has ever been any doubt in your mind before, this strike ought to be an eye-opener, as to the functions of capitalist governors and the militia.

The CHIEF FUNCTION OF THE

ARMY IS TO BREAK STRIKES. Gov. Glasecock seems to feel it his chief duty to serve the mine *owners* in their efforts to crush the mine WORKERS. This was the consistent attitude of the First Progressive Leader in all troubles between capitalists and laborers.

Report comes in that several hundred miners, employed in a union mine near the Kanawha District, have armed themselves and started for Paint Creek, declaring they will avenge the death of their comrades who were shot by paid thugs, hiding in ambush.

The United Mine Workers have promised a \$200,000 monthly benefit assessment for the striking miners.

The strikers have learned to fight, in and for, One Big Union. They are learning, in this strike, that they must put their own men in office to USE THE TROOPS IN THEIR BEHALF NEXT TIME.

#### **Mother Jones Arrested and Jailed in a Box Car**

Last June, when "Mother Jones" traveled across the states from Butte, Mont., to aid the West Virginia miners in their fight, a reporter on the Charleston *Gazette* interviewed her. The following is quoted from this paper June 11th.

"Mother Jones . . . from the stump and through the press has shown a desire only to do something for the betterment of the great American laboring class. She is 80 years old. On the day of her arrival here she addressed a miners' mass meeting for an hour and a half—and unassisted she climbed a steep hill to the speakers' stand and made a stronger effort and a more telling address in every way than that of any of the others whose names appeared on the list of speakers, and most of whom were only half her years.

"Some people never get old, and Mother Jones is one who, no matter how long she be spared to her stormy career, will be gathered to her ancestors in the bosom of youth."

The reporter had heard a lot about the woman he was about to interview—and seen her pictured everywhere—had heard of her making fiery speeches in places

where her life was in danger, and he expected to encounter a cyclone.

The reporter, however, was wrong.

What he really found was a kindly-faced woman of apparently 50 years—the only evidence of her four score years being an abundance of snow-white hair. She gave the reporter a kindly greeting—a greeting that reminded him at once of the name that had attached itself to the woman he had come to see—the name was that of "mother"—and the reporter knew whence the name had come.

"Mother" was right.

A few brief questions, and as many brief answers and the interview was over—for "Mother" Jones does not seek to be featured in the daily press.

"I am simply a social revolutionist," she said. "I believe in collective ownership of the means of wealth. At this time the natural commodities of this country are cornered in the hands of a few. The man who owns the means of wealth gets the major profit, and the worker, who produces the wealth from the means in the hands of the capitalist, takes what he can get. Sooner or later, and perhaps sooner than we think, evolution and revolution will have accomplished the overturning of the system under which we now live, and the worker will have gained his own. This change will come as the result of education. My life work has been to try to educate the worker to a sense of the wrongs he has had to suffer, and does suffer—and to stir up the oppressed to a point of getting off their knees and demanding that which I believe to be rightfully theirs. When force is used to hinder the worker in his efforts to obtain the things which are his, he has the right to meet force with force. He has the right to strike for what is his due, and he has no right to be satisfied with less. The people want to do right, but they have been hoodwinked for ages. They are now awakening, and the day of their enfranchisement is near at hand."

That, in substance, is what Mother Jones had to say about her mission on earth. She bowed the reporter from the room. He had seen "Mother Jones."

For eight months "Mother Jones" has been working, speaking and fighting with the West Virginia miners. In spite of her

eighty years she has suffered with the miners, their wives and children, sharing every hardship, the cold of winter in the mountains, the coarse food and the insults and brutality of the "guards" and militiamen.

Many were the speeches she made and every one a battle cry for class solidarity. The most weary and disheartened group gathered courage and inspiration when she addressed her "Boys."

But it became evident to the mill bosses that the beautiful, white-haired woman was a militant figure that it would be

well to eliminate. So, on February 13th, "Mother Jones" was arrested on a charge of murder. It is claimed that she advised the strikers to arm themselves. Many times the mine "guards" crept up upon strikers in their mountain retreat, and coldly murdered them. Several "guards" were discovered and shot by the miners in self defense. An attempt will be made to hold "Mother Jones" responsible. Evidently the true Progressive believes in murder only where the gun is in the hands of a servant of the owning class and directed against working men.



ARRESTED FOR PICKETING.—NEW YORK GARMENT WORKERS STRIKE.

### The New Disease: **Protocolic**

As this is written, the great strike of the garment workers in New York is in its seventh week and, according to present indications, it may last even longer than the historic struggle of the cloakmakers in 1910, which endured for nine weeks.

At present the garment workers' strike seems to be suffering from a bad attack of the new industrial ailment that might be described as the "protocolic." Twice the officials of the United Garment Workers' Union, who pulled the strike, have tried to get an agreement approved which involved the signing of a protocol, but both times got severe jolts from the strikers as a whole who made known their opinions of compromise in no uncertain tones. The attempt to induce the strikers to accept the protocol has so far produced little but dissension and has had much to do with smothering the spirit of the workers which at first was militant and aggressive.

The waist makers have already gone back to work under the terms of a protocol, though a considerable part of them did so reluctantly, and so great opposition was manifested towards it at one meeting in Cooper Union that a serious outbreak was narrowly averted.

A protocol is simply the old-fashioned contract or agreement in a new guise. It retains some of the most vicious features of the time-contract along with some modern trimmings hidden in a mass of legal verbiage. It is as full of treacheries as a bank of quicksand. It is, in brief, a document, agreed to and signed by both sides, which assures the capitalist of so many months or years of "industrial peace," in which he can resume his grinding of the faces of the workers with a feeling that he is secure from strikes. By allowing their union officials or attorneys to fix up and sign a protocol, the workers enter into a contract with the capitalist system and agree to prolong it for a certain length of time on condition that their employers introduce certain reforms such as sanitation, abolition of sweating, etc. It is as if a man consented to allow a beast to suck his life blood on condition that the beast did it slowly and in a nice, clean way. And the shameful part of it is that Socialist lawyers have had a hand in drawing up and enforcing the provisions of these protocols.

The protocol promises to become the principal bar to revolutionary unionism in the garment-making industry of America. It absolutely prevents the workers from taking measures to remedy their own conditions by removing their affairs out of their own hands and putting them into the tricky claws of a court of arbitration.

Of course, not all employers are in favor of settling a strike by signing a protocol. The more obstinate ones fight it because in a sense it involves "recognition of the union," and independent manufacturers are inclined to oppose it because it places the industry too much in the hands of the "big fellows."

But that the protocol is essentially a capitalistic scheme is proved by the laudatory remarks of Julius Henry Cohen, attorney for the cloak manufacturers in the 1910 strike, in an interview printed in the *New York Times*, Sunday, Jan. 26.

Cohen says that intelligent capitalists are no longer fighting the trade unions and obstinately holding out for the "open shop," because the open shop is a shop "where Ettor, Giovannitti, Haywood and Rose Pastor Stokes, may come in at any time and raise trouble. In the preferential union shop the employer has something to say as to which union he will deal with, and if he selects the stronger and more rational union he precludes Mr. Ettor and Giovannitti. To that extent he truly runs a closed shop."

In other words, the rise of the I. W. W. has taught the capitalist that the craft union is his principal bulwark in preserving and sustaining the system which makes wage-slavery possible.

Cohen goes on to show what a friend the craft union is of the capitalists in the following words:

"Now, why should not sensible business men realize that if they want peace in an industry, it is not a question of union or no union? The real situation is, which union. Shall we do business with a union which is strong enough to make and maintain a treaty of peace, or shall we do business with a band of guerillas who attack us at every point, with whom we cannot reason, and who, if we succeed in beating them in a strike, come into our shops and destroy both our product and our machines?"

"And, after all, what can we get from



STRIKERS' LUNCH ROOM, 143 EAST 103D ST., ORGANIZED BY BRANCH 7, SOCIALIST PARTY AND HARLEM CONSUMERS LEAGUE.



THE COMMITTEE IN CHARGE OF THE HARLEM LUNCH ROOM AT WORKMEN'S CIRCLE BUILDING

a group of people who regard us as enemies? Must we not create a proper factory atmosphere in order to turn out our work? And what good will it do us to take orders and buy goods if our machines are idle? We cannot by any power under the sun compel people to work against their will. Must we not realize, therefore, that sooner or later we must deal with the recognized representatives of the working people in whom they have confidence, and, having convinced them of the reasonableness of our side, secure a working arrangement that will *include the discipline of those who violate it?*

"I believe that all that practical business men need to know is that the thing is really workable to wake up to its necessity. The necessity is here, sure enough. The hotel proprietors were warned four years ago that if they did not deal with the American Federation of Labor they would have to deal with the International Workers of the World. Now they have them. The mill owners of Lawrence refused to deal with John Golden of the textile workers, but when Ettor and Giovannitti arrived, *they were only too glad to ask for John Golden's help.*

"The great thing about this whole experiment which is being tried in the garment-making industry, is not merely that it brings peace and economic order to an industry, but that it is a method of education and discipline. That is why it is so vigorously opposed by the Industrial Workers of the World. They don't want any individual restraint. They don't want any discipline by executive officers of the order. They don't even want any organization. But when a powerful union is held responsible for all of its members, *the shop workers must obey orders, and there can be no uprising in the shop over such incidents as the discharge of a co-worker.* Under protocol conditions, no grievance will be considered either by the union leaders or the Manufacturers' Association *until the men return to work.* This kind of moral discipline is new for the working people in the needle workers' industry. The discipline of the union whose officers the people themselves select, is the moral force which makes for order and sanity."

PHILLIPS RUSSELL.

### At Porcupine

On January 21, Wm. Holowatsky, organizer for the Western Federation of Miners, and Peter Cleary, member of the Local Union were convicted of a charge of inciting the employees of the Hollinger Mining Co. to go on strike in violation of the "Industrial Disputes Investigation Act," and sentenced to pay a fine of \$500 or three months in Sudbury jail at hard labor. Percy Croft was convicted on a charge of going on strike November 15, 1912, and sentenced to pay a fine of \$50 or sixty days in Sudbury prison at hard labor.

On January 23, these fellow workers were taken from this district apparently to be landed in Sudbury prison, but on investigation we find that they were not taken to Sudbury, but to another prison at North Bay. Sudbury is a mining camp, the home of the Canadian Copper Co., whose proud boast has been that no organizer for the Western Federation of Miners could remain in the camp. Apparently they were afraid to even have one locked in the district jail on account of the demoralizing effect it might have on the wage slaves.

An appeal has been taken in the cases of Cleary, Holowalsky and Croft, but they are being held in close confinement in North Bay jail pending the result of the appeal. No bail would be accepted in their cases. According to Canadian justice, men guilty of exchanging ideas with their fellow-workers on how to better their condition and men who quit work without first begging permission of the boss are such heinous criminals that they cannot be liberated on bail, pending an appeal of their cases.

There are summons out for some 350 ex-employees of the Hollinger Mining Company for quitting work without first asking the boss if he has sufficient supply of scabs to take their places—going on strike in violation of the "Industrial Disputes Investigation Act" is the way the legal sharks put it.

The workers of Canada are beginning to realize that this so-called "Conciliation Act" is one of the most deadly weapons in the arsenal of the master class. It can be used against them whenever they show signs of rebelling against the



STRIKING MINERS DEMONSTRATION.

conditions imposed on them. The imprisonment of these fellow-workers will assist in getting the iniquitous measures wiped off the statute books of the Dominion.

The Ontario police are still active on the job as scab herders, having almost entirely displaced the Thiele gun men. They have proved by far more efficient for the bosses than the Thiele plug uglies and cost the mining companies nothing for their maintenance.

The strike situation is unchanged; the

companies are unable to get strike breakers. Intimidation by the police as well as their attempts to disrupt the workers on race lines, have failed. The Legislature of the Province of Ontario is in session with an eight-hour day in the mining industry as one of the most important pieces of legislation to be considered. The solidarity of the workers on the industrial field has forced the politicians to act.

It may be necessary before the fight is over to call out all of the workers in the



TRANSPORTATION UP NORTH.

mining industry of northern Ontario, who are organized into the Western Federation of Miners, and as Industrialism as opposed to Craft unionism, is one of the cardinal principles of the miners' organization, no doubt prompt action will be taken when this time arrives. We, as an organization, would not stand for the workers in one camp digging out the war chest to defeat the members of the organization in a sister local only a few miles away.

J. D. BARRY.

### Rubber Workers Rebel

Akron, Ohio, is the industrial capital of the rubber trust in the United States. Twenty thousand rubber workers go to work there every morning including six thousand girls. They have been whistled in and out for years. The machines have been speeded up and wages cut until last week five thousand workers walked out and hundreds are joining their ranks daily.

Last year the rubber barons who owned the Fire Stone, Goodrich-Diamond, Goodyear and Buck-Eye plants, declared a divi-

dend of 800%. Still not satisfied, on the first of this year they installed the Taylor Efficiency System of Exploitation.

When the rubber industry was small, skilled workers made from \$3.50 to \$7.00 a day but now skilled workers are forced to work ten hours at high speed in order to make from \$2.25 to \$2.50 a day.

The Industrial Workers of the World have four organizers on the ground and the work of organization is being rapidly pushed.

Socialists are actively supporting the strikers by holding mass meetings in the Socialist hall and digging down in their jeans for good hard cash to keep the strikers from starving. We urge REVIEW readers to do the same. Sending your remittance to Margaret Prevey, Akron, Ohio, 140 South High street. Comrades Frank and Margaret Prevey are on the firing line and we should do our part in assisting the workers to win.

Latest press reports announce that six companies of militia have been ordered to Akron.

## HARD TIMES AND HOW TO STOP THEM

BY

MARY E. MARCY

I NEVER met a working man or woman who did not know that something is wrong with things as they are today. No matter how hard we may work and save, you and I know that 99 out of every hundred of us are always "up against it."

You slave along for a year and manage, perhaps, to save up a few dollars and some day you find a notice nailed up on the factory door telling you that the boss has closed down indefinitely.

If you think it over, while you are living along on your savings, and trying to get another job, you will realize that the boss has not shut down because folks have more food and clothing, or more homes than they need. He shut down because he could not make any PROFITS.

The sole end and aim of Business is PROFITS. No matter how much the bosses may talk, in public, for newspaper

advertising, you know that they consider everything connected with the shop, the business, the mine or the mill from the standpoint of whether it will bring MORE PROFITS to them.

They install automatic machinery because it will enable them to discharge men or women and thus make more PROFITS.

They put cotton seeds in their canned preserves because they are *cheaper* than real strawberries. They adulterate bread and food. They use poisonous preservatives in meat; they dye beef red to make it appear fresh; they sell condemned hams, and monopolize the egg supply; they skim the milk or adulterate it—all for the sake of MORE DIVIDENDS.

If you work in a shipping room, or a department store and you or your associates secretly report the fact that the elevators are notably unsafe, you learn that the

Building Inspector appears, interviews the boss, in private, and declares they are all they should be. Later a workman is injured in one of those elevators. He is whisked away secretly to a hospital. His family is not permitted to see him until he has signed a statement exonerating the company.

You know the newspaper reporters know about this accident and the criminal negligence of the boss. But they do not print a word about it.

Why does the boss refuse to install safe elevators? Why did the Inspector lie? Why was the newspaper silent? The answer is *profits*. It costs money to buy good elevators with safety devices. The boss finds it cheaper to "see" the Inspector. The newspaper gets good paying advertising from the company. It will not and CAN not tell the truth and compete with the other newspapers that go to all lengths for PROFITS.

You will find almost everything in the world today, almost every social institution directly related, in one way or another, to PROFITS, if you stop to think about it.

You go on strike with the other boys in the mill—for shorter hours and higher wages. The boss opposes you, because higher wages and shorter working hours for YOU will mean lower PROFITS for HIM.

You see the police force used to protect the scabs and the property of the boss. They beat you up. The militia comes and helps to break your strike. You see the police and the army called to serve the interests of the Boss in order to prevent you from gaining higher wages and cutting down his PROFITS.

You see the preachers teaching contentment and thrift and economy and honesty, because the rich men pay their salaries and the master class want you to be honest and saving, contented and obedient. These things mean more PROFITS for him.

The newspapers never print the truth about a strike. They always side with the employers because the employers ADVERTISE and advertising means PROFITS.

When you are sick doctors pretend they know how to cure you whether they do or not. If you have enough money, they are more than likely to operate or to keep you sick while they take it away. Every time

you have the misfortune to be sick or injured, the doctors talk about good times, and begin to buy new furniture for the house. Even rich men ought to be afraid of the doctors because their Good Times are other peoples' time of trouble. The longer they keep us in bed, the larger is their bill.

Congressmen, and senators, judges and ambassadors always line up behind the Captains of Industry instead of behind workingmen and women. It PAYS better. You never heard of any law that actually benefitted the working class (unless it benefitted the bosses still more). About the time a law gets past the legislature, prohibiting young boys from working in the coal mines, we generally find the mine owners have installed new machinery that does not need boys.

You can scarcely turn around without hitting somebody in the pocket-book. If you read late at night the landlady will be rapping on the door and lamenting the gas. The waiter at the restaurant is instructed to give you a cube of butterine so small you can scarcely discover it with the naked eye.

The grocer puts postum or beans in the coffee. The cashier short-changes you. The fruit vendor insinuates bad apples in the bag, if you so much as turn your head. You can't get anything without encroaching upon somebody's profits.

Profits are the cause of Poverty. And Socialism proposes to abolish Poverty. This is why every workingman and woman ought to be a Socialist.

Because the bosses own the factory, the mine, mill and shop, they are able to buy your working strength for less than the value of the things you produce or make. This leaves a profit for the bosses. Socialism intends to make the factories, farms, mines, mills and shops the collective property of those who work in them; to do away with bosses and to abolish the PROFIT system.

Think this over. Read this article again. If you are a factory owner you will oppose Socialism. If you are an intelligent worker, you will join the Socialist movement. It is the only movement in the world composed of workers who mean to abolish Poverty and the Profit System. It will give to every worker the full value of his product.

# Old Japan and New

By S. KATAYAMA



S. KATAYAMA.

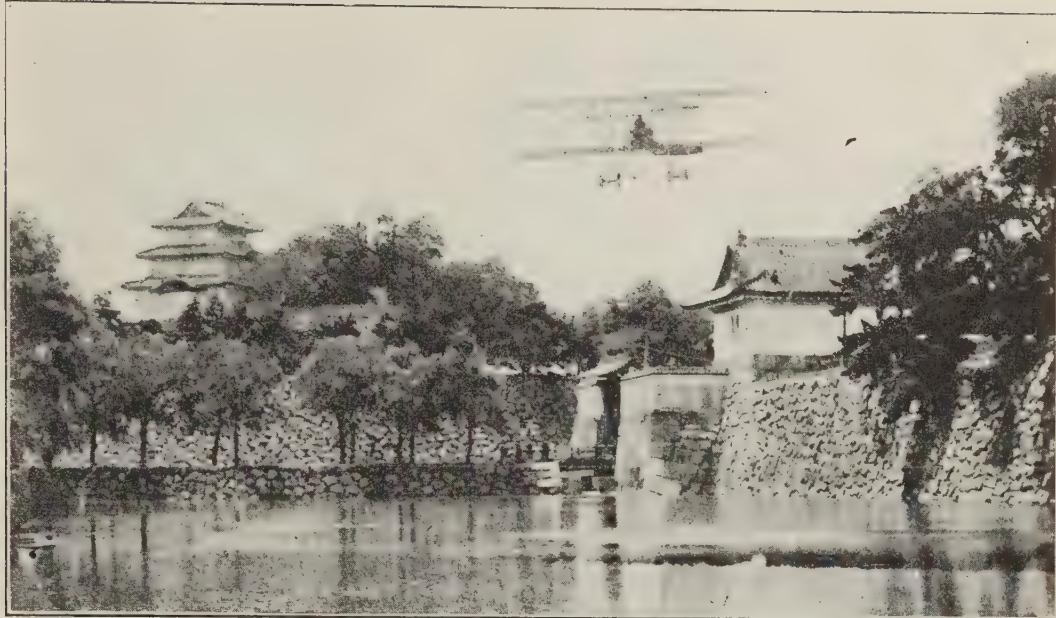
**I**N FIFTY odd years Japan has awokened from its semi-barbaric slumbering satisfaction with the old feudal system. It has passed through two big wars in ten years, while draining national resources by military expansion, heavy taxation and directly through labor exploitation prevalent all over the country. There have been growing up formidable capitalist classes that are squeezing the workers' blood by unbounded exploitation and the high handed protective system of industry and commerce. The protective tariff, that was legalized a year ago last July, gave the capitalists free hands in charging monopolistic prices on manufactured goods up to that time supplied by the foreign market cheap. Consequently the working class is suffering more acutely than ever before on account of low wages.

The cost of living has been increasing steadily for the last two decades but wages have not, so the losers always have been the wage earners.

We do not lack an Astor in Tokyo. Such

being the case, some rich capitalist owns a pet dog that costs him 10,000 yen (\$5,000), and Mitsubishi owns some thirty hunting dogs each dog costing to feed 80 to 100 yen a month. This means wages of 150 to 200 days of a day laborer just at present.

While many workers unable to pay car fare walk along the rough or muddy roads, by their side there goes an American or French made automobile that costs 5,000 to 7,000 or 10,000 yen. The rich are paying 100 yen an ounce for Hoobigan's perfume, but many poor children of workers go to school without breakfast. We watch aeroplanes or balloons flying over the sky across the city of Tokyo, while the poor can not ride in trains, but must walk on rough country roads with coarse straw sandals, and carry burdens on their backs or shoulders. Most modern machines are imported or home made for use in industry and commerce and often next door to them the most primitive tools are used to conduct the business or industry. A few pictures will convey the idea of things in Japan to your readers.



IMPERIAL PALACE.

Although old Japan is passing away pretty rapidly, yet you can see many feudal relics surviving everywhere in Japan. Side by side of the most advanced ideas of the western world are old Japanese customs long unused and forgotten elsewhere.

Harikari, or suicide was taken up by Count Nogi, the so-called hero of Port Arthur at the time of the late Russo-Japan war. Nogi sacrificed over twenty-five thousand soldiers in order to take Port Arthur; now this stern old soldier killed himself at the death of the late emperor, and this act has been praised by the people as divine. Many thousands of persons are making the pilgrimages to the self-destroyer's grave.

It is impossible to read the signs of the present moment, but this much is certain, scientific knowledge has been steadily applied to every sphere of life more and more and in consequence the old order of society will be bound to pass away whether conservatives like it or not.

Just now we have no freedom of speech or association; everybody is talking or writing differently from what really they think or know. Most people become hypocrites or philistines for the time being. But this state of things will not continue indefinitely. It will change sooner or later; and I have a bright hope in the near future. Intelli-

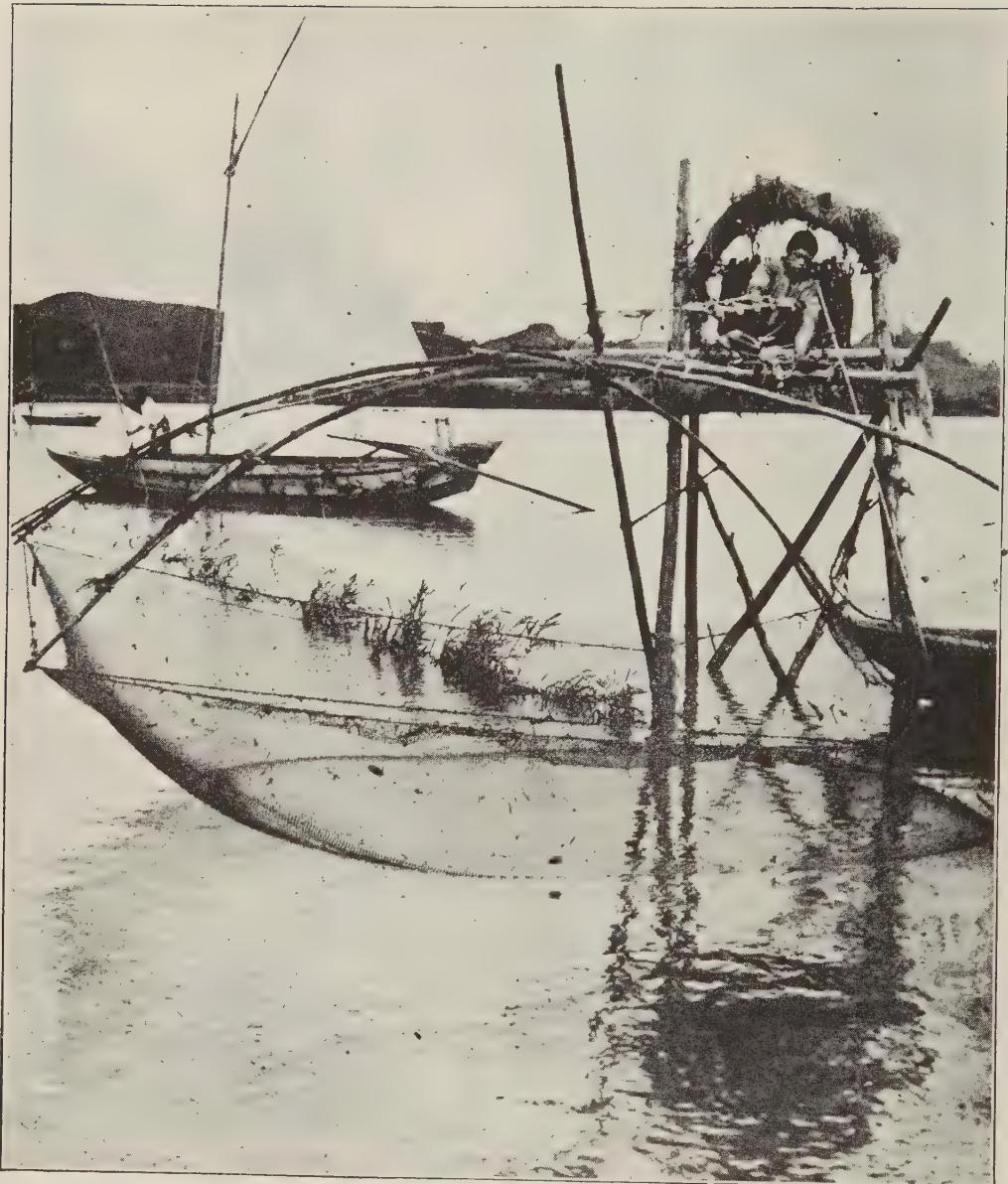
gent men fear the present status and are attempting to remedy conditions by half-way measures or charitable undertakings, but the social reforms of bourgeois men will never succeed in helping the working class. Capitalism itself will drive the workers to Socialism. There is nothing else that can help them.

#### THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN 1912. . .

The year just passed has been an eventful one in the Japanese labor movement. It began with the great strike of the street railway workers in Tokio that threw the whole city into confusion upon the greatest national holiday, when everybody wanted to ride in the cars. I have already reported this strike for the REVIEW, which was a great victory for the men, coming as it did just when their labor-power was most needed.

On January 14 the sailors on carrier boats from Yokohama to Tokio struck for higher wages. Owing to police interference and brutality, their efforts resulted in utter failure.

March 28 saw the strike of the Yugen dyers, whose wages with their employers is based upon the price of rice. They demanded a wage increase to equal the rise in the price of this staple article of food. The heavy hand of Authority again crushed



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A JAPANESE BOAT TOILER OF THE SEA WITH PRIMITIVE FISHING NET.

out the rebellion and the workers returned with a promise of a future rise.

During March came also the strike of 30,000 navy yard employes. The last Diet voted them a sick and accident benefit, so they desired to distribute among those who had paid in to their own mutual aid society the funds in their treasury. They demanded also a wage increase.

Policemen and gendarmes were sent to

arrest all strikers. They succeeded in arresting some thousand men, it is claimed, and repressive measures were so severe that the men knew they were beaten.

The sailors' strike was more successful. They possessed some measure of organization and demanded increased wages. On April 22 over 80 per cent of the sailors and firemen struck at Yokohama and the companies acceded to most of their demands.



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JAPANESE PORCELAIN WORKERS.

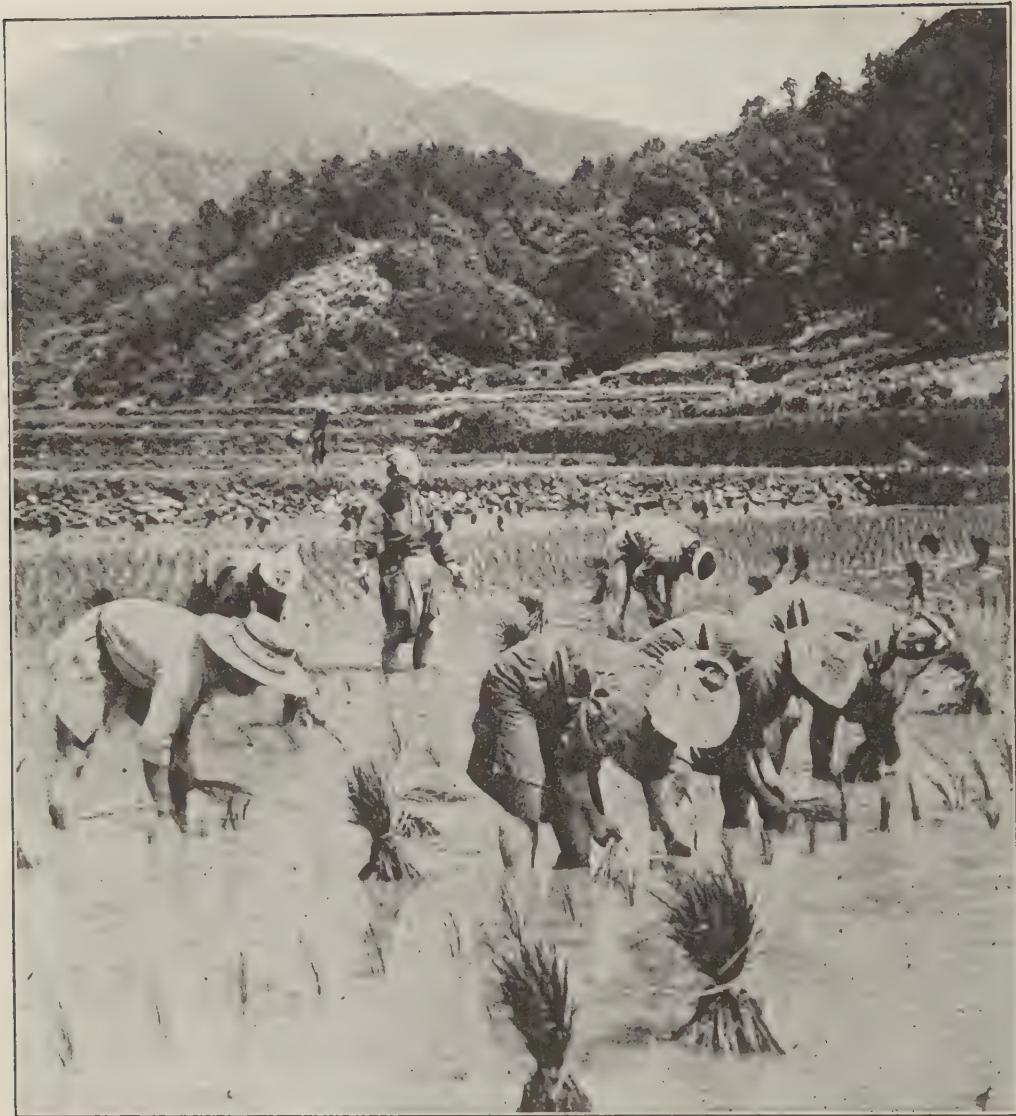
Strikes are a new thing in Japan and the past year has seen many of them. But the rule has been defeat through lack of education and organization and through police interference.

Up till very recently the Japanese have been an obedient people. They have toiled long, without questioning their hard lot. But times are changing very rapidly. Large bodies of workers are being drawn

together by new methods of industry. They are coming to feel a common bond. Class consciousness is being born of the very conditions of Capitalism itself.

In quoting from the February number of the *Century Magazine*, we find new information on industrial and political Japan:

"The (Tokio) strikers received an increase and went back to work. Several of the leaders were severely punished on the



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TRANSPLANTING RICE SHOOTS ON JAPANESE FARMS.

ground that they put the public of Tokio to serious inconvenience, hence had committed a crime against society. The men punished were regarded as martyrs by their fellow workers . . . and since then there has been a marked and unusual hesitancy on the part of those in authority in dealing with such cases in a summary or harsh manner.

"As yet the Japanese laboring men have not acquired sufficient boldness to strike for an avowed purpose, but by concerted action

they fail to report for duty. When asked why they do not appear they plead physical ailments and *thus escape legal action*. They accomplish the desired end, however, and the result is the same.

"At first and up to a recent date, the government dealt with strikers and labor agitators as criminals, and punished them as such. But as the *disturbances increase*, it has become apparent that this method is not practical.

"The price of rice per bushel has in-



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COMING GENERATION OF JAPANESE SCHOOL CHILDREN.

creased from 72 cents in 1892 to \$2.12 in 1911. Western ideas and the increasing cost of living are bringing about a state of restlessness and dissatisfaction potent with serious possibilities."

#### From Comrade Rea Now Touring Japan

To those of us who are accustomed to liberty for carrying on a regular system of socialist propaganda and union agitation, the attitude of the Japanese authorities toward these movements comes as a distinct surprise. This is especially true because only a few years ago the emperor is supposed to have granted his subjects a

constitution granting them at least a few personal liberties.

Within the past month I have visited many comrades in Tokio. From what I could gather, the heart of the little propaganda movement lies in this, the capital city, where a few faithful Socialists gather occasionally to exchange views and plan for further carrying on the great work.

As they are not allowed to meet as a political body, these functions are always more or less of a social character. Tea and cakes are served, cigarettes are lighted and a pleasant time is enjoyed by all. Speeches are made by different comrades

and all things possible are done to continue the work.

Upon the evening I attended one of these gatherings, a Japanese comrade, carrying a child strapped to his back (the national way for carrying the children), told us how he had just been discharged from his job because it had become known that he was a Socialist. The employer of this man informed him that he never employed Socialists. He was an experienced shoemaker and earned 42 yen, or 21 cents, a day.

As soon as a man is known to belong to the movement he begins to receive, what he naturally believes to be, more than his share of attention from the police.

During my visit the police were doubly vigilant. When I left home in the morning with a comrade, to visit various places of interest in Tokio, we found them waiting for us outside the door. They stayed with us all day; took the car when we did and were more than attentive. Comrade Sakai, with whom I was visiting, introduced me to some of them. I feel sure

many were disgusted with their jobs, but they have to obey those higher up.

Nearly every Socialist I met had served time in prison. Comrade Sakai has served several terms—two years on one occasion. Comrade Katayama has not long been free, having been sentenced to a term for advocating the cause of the striking street car employes in Tokio. Another comrade recently died in prison while serving a two-year sentence for writing a pamphlet exposing the horrible conditions of the Japanese peasantry.

Out of a population of 50,000,000 in Japan, only 1,500,000 possess the ballot. There are as yet no such things as either industrial or political freedom in Japan.

But every year brings home students who are teaching the message of Socialism, and every day brings greater hardships to the workers in Japan. And with the great organizing power of modern industry and the misery of the people the seeds of revolution are bound to grow with ever-increasing speed.

## GREATEST OF ALL SOCIALIST BOOKS Marx's CAPITAL

You can be a Socialist without reading CAPITAL, but you cannot talk or write about Socialism, nor hold your own in debates with old-party politicians, without a clear understanding of the principles and theories which are explained in this book.

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**Charles H. Kerr & Company, 118 W. Kinzie Street, Chicago**

# WAR AGAINST WAR

By ANTON PANNEKOEK

Translated by William E. Bohn.

## PART III

### THE CONGRESS OF BASEL.

The Congress of Basel was a demonstration of the proletarian opposition to war, but such a demonstration cannot prevent war. As was said by Vaillant, the veteran of the Commune, "The international congress has finished its work; but the real struggle has just begun." What will be the plan of campaign of this battle? What weapons will be used? In what manner can the workers of the world prevent a war? These questions were not answered at Basel. As at Stuttgart, it was definitely declared that in each country the means employed are to be adapted to the conditions. In order to avoid even the appearance of a lack of unity, discussion of methods was avoided. The Congress contented itself with drawing the attention of governments and peoples to what has hitherto been achieved, our international unity and our unanimous opposition to war; it did not suggest any definite line of action. It showed to all the world the goal toward which we are bound, but failed to mark out the way which is to lead to it. The finding of the way has been left to the workers themselves.

Fortunately, our future line of march is not entirely unknown. In the actual practice of the labor movement, it has already been discovered. Both theoretically and practically the working-class has concerned itself with the methods to be employed in this phase of its struggle.

There are Socialists for whom political struggle and parliamentary struggle are identical. For them the entire political struggle of the working-class consists of political campaigns and speeches in parliamentary assemblies. The narrowness of this view has been demonstrated again and again. Wherever the right of franchise is a limited one, the representation of the proletariat necessarily remains in

the minority; the task of the workers is, then, the conquest of a democratic electoral law. This is possible only by means of political activity of the masses outside of the halls of parliament, what we have to come to call mass-action. The same is true of the struggle against war. This is a political conflict of the greatest importance, but it cannot be carried on inside the parliamentary halls. There the representatives of the workers can voice their protest, but they are in the minority against the bourgeois majority which supports the government. And the diplomatic negotiations upon which depend the great issues of war and peace are not carried on in the open before the representatives of the people; these matters, so vital to the nations' life, are debated behind closed doors by a small coterie of ministers. In order to prevent war the proletariat must bring to bear a sufficient weight of public opinion to compel the government to keep the peace. This can be done only through mass-action.

The mere existence of a Socialist proletariat constitutes a strong influence for peace. In view of the great influence exerted over the masses of people by a revolutionary party any government conceives at last a secret dread of war. For an unsuccessful conflict with a foreign power may always bring in its train revolutionary uprisings and the danger of complete downfall of the existing government. This fear of the proletariat has done much toward maintaining peace in Europe during the past forty years. But this gives the workers no excuse for deceiving themselves with a sense of security. The forces of international competition which make for war grow constantly stronger. And because the bourgeoisie, as the ruling class, is accustomed to command and have the working-class obey, and because

it knows that it has under its control a strong governmental machine, it feels certain of its ability to drive the masses of the people into a conflict with a foreign power which it points out as the enemy. On this account the workers must bestir themselves, must take the initiative. No one will take account of the desires of those who simply hold their peace. But if the masses of the workers make energetic protest and declare with all possible emphasis that they will not have war, then the government will be forced to proceed with caution. No government would dare at the present time to undertake a war against the energetically proclaimed desire of the great masses of the people.

This the workers have instinctively felt as they have been carrying on mass meetings and street demonstrations. These activities do more, however, than express the will of the participants. As a method of propaganda and agitation their effect is wide-spread. They attract the attention of those who have hitherto remained indifferent and waken hope and confidence in those who have remained aloof from the struggle. They draw increasing numbers into the struggle and so heighten the courage and enthusiasm of the entire proletariat. And the very fact that the government recognizes the effect of these demonstrations is reason enough for its fear of them and its tendency to give way before them.

But it is evident that in case bourgeoisie and government had definitely decided upon a war, such demonstrations as these would not suffice to compel them to relinquish their purpose. Such means as these could not force the will of the proletariat upon the government; they are effective only in case the forces making for war are not great. In the presence of them, governments will not declare war to satisfy a mere whim or to gain an unimportant advantage. They know how much is involved and whenever possible attempt to get on without war. If they do decide to declare war, it is because very important capitalistic interests are to be served. But the development of big business in the direction of new fields of investment is so persistent, so peremptory that they sometimes compel governments to go to war and plunge

the entire bourgeoisie into a war fever. When this happens the influence for peace proceeding from mass-meetings and street demonstrations remains ineffective. Against the peace agitation of the proletariat a wave of fanatic nationalism is set in motion. Street demonstrations may be forbidden. Patriotism serves as an excuse for the suppression of any opposition, and the mobilizing of troops places the most active elements of the proletariat under military law. Under these circumstances, what is to be done?

It is at this point that the conflict really becomes serious. Then the workers must resort to more effective means than the ordinary ones. Concerning the exact form of the struggle, however, it is impossible to go beyond conjectures. At Copenhagen Keir Hardie and Vaillant proposed as the ultimate weapons to be used against war a strike of those employed on railways and in arsenals and ammunition factories. This form of tactics is adapted to the French and English conditions. In England the great mass of the working-class is indifferent to war, for to the English war means a naval conflict or a land campaign carried on by professional, hired troops. On the other hand, military operations would be dependent upon the groups of workers employed in the arming of troops and the carrying on of transportation. In France the situation is substantially the same, for small capitalists and farmers make up the bulk of the population. On this account the proposition of Hardie and Vaillant is a perfectly natural one for them to make. But the fallacy involved in it lies in the fact that it places upon a comparatively small group the burden which belongs to an entire class. Any such group might be easily overcome by the superior forces of the government; popular opinion would approve of any violent means utilized against it. Not by means of such rather mechanical devices can a war be prevented, but only through action of the entire working-class. The struggle against war is a political struggle of class against class; it can be carried on successfully only when the entire proletariat exerts its whole strength against that of the government and the bourgeoisie.

The strongest weapon of the working-class is the strike; the political mass-

strike is the great weapon of the revolution, the one most adapted to the conditions of the workers. Its tremendous power has been repeatedly demonstrated, especially in Belgium in 1893 and in Russia in 1905. Concerning the question as to whether it can be employed against war, and how it can best be used, there is great difference of opinion. In the countries of Western Europe where great meetings and street demonstrations are commonplaces, Socialists have discovered that a protest strike for a limited time is the least exhibition of power that will make an impression. On the other hand, the leaders of German Socialism have little patience with the proposal to use the mass-strike as a means of preventing war. In part their opposition is due to the fear of precipitating unnecessary conflicts which might lead the government to such ruthless suppression of the labor movement as would set it back and postpone for many years the victory which it confidently expects. But another important element in the situation is the fact that the German labor movement leads the world in organization and power of numbers. Whereas a weak movement feels obliged to use immediately its strongest weapon, a strong movement may achieve the same result by the simple pressure of its mass. In addition, it must be remembered that street demonstrations, the right to make which has only recently been wrung from the police power, have in Germany a much greater influence than in other countries.

This does not mean that a political strike against war is impossible in Germany. It is not the desire of the leaders which gives the ultimate decision, but rather the force of circumstances, the masses may be compelled to act in a manner quite unforeseen, and in that case the leaders will be carried along despite their predilections and prejudices. In case the danger of war becomes really imminent, this will unquestionably take place. Such a socialistically trained working-class as

that of Germany will not allow itself to be dragged into a war at the command of the ruling class. The greater the danger, the more the working-class will be roused, the more energetically will it defend itself with any and all weapons.

Hitherto this has never been necessary; in every case the danger of war has passed away after a period of greater or less excitement. Germany has been the greatest trouble-maker in Europe, yet the fact that the workers have not been prevented from making their demonstrations shows that the government has not seriously and definitely planned for war. But the danger constantly recurs, and constantly in more threatening form. So, what is now but theory must eventually become practice. Then the conflict concerning war will become one of the most important features of the class-struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat. In this conflict for peace the workers will be compelled to use their sharpest weapons and to perfect their fighting power for employment against the whole strength of the ruling class. Thus the development of imperialism is calling into being the revolutionary force which will put an end to capitalism.

A new epoch in world history is beginning. Hitherto wars have been a necessary element in the development of the race; under capitalism they have been inevitable. The ruling classes simply had the masses at their disposal and without opposition were able to lead them into war in the interests of capital. Now, for the first time, a new power has appeared as a force in world history, the power of the self-conscious workers. Thus far the working-class has not been strong enough to overcome the bourgeoisie. But against the militarism of the competing capitalistic governments they now heroically declare their determination to have peace. And this war against war means the beginning of the process of revolution which is to lead from capitalism to Socialism.

# INDUSTRIALISM vs. SYNDICALISM

By WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

**A** NEW organization has just been formed—the Syndicalist League of North America. And the case for Syndicalism has been very ably and honestly presented by its secretary, W. Z. Foster, in his pamphlet under that title (Syndicalism).

The new organization is directed largely against the Industrial Workers of the World. It opposes Syndicalism to Industrialism. Whether it succeeds or fails is a question of the future. There is a similar organization under the leadership of Tom Mann in Great Britain, and it seems to be a success; it is the publisher of a well-edited and influential organ, "The Syndicalist." But what interests us here is not the prospects of Mr. Foster and his organization, but the very clear distinction they draw between the semi-Anarchistic and semi-conservative "Syndicalism" of the French Federation of Labor, which some writers have been trying to import into this country, and the Industrial Socialism of Wm. D. Haywood and the I. W. W. The bourgeois journalists and magazine writers have unfortunately used the term "Syndicalism" in speaking of the I. W. W.—which only leads to confusion. And what is still more important is that the public, including a large part of the working class, are employing the new word. So that it is possible that what we call "Industrialism" today will also be spoken of as Syndicalism in the future.

The Syndicalist League of North America, however, uses the word in its correct sense—as opposed to political Socialism. Mr. Foster says:

"Syndicalism is a revolutionary labor union movement and philosophy calculated to answer all the needs of the working class in its daily struggles, in the revolution, and in the organization of the new society. It rejects entirely and bitterly opposes the working class political movement—whose chief representative is the international Socialist Party.

"The Syndicalists insist that the labor

unions alone represent the interests of the working class and that the Socialist Party is an interloper and a parasite.

"The Socialists have noted this and correctly view the Syndicalist movement—even as the Syndicalists do the Socialist movement—as a rival to their own. They recognize that every great victory it wins pulls working class support from their party and is a defeat for their movement, and that every defeat the Syndicalist movement suffers, by driving workers back to the Socialist party, is a victory for the latter."

There is no question that the majority of the leading Syndicalists of France and Italy are opposed to the Socialist Parties of those countries, though there are many exceptions. The daily Syndicalist organ of France, "La Bataille Syndicaliste" is as bitterly opposed to Gustave Hervé, the revolutionary Socialist and Industrialist, as it is to the most conservative of labor politicians. And it was the Syndicalists who broke up Hervé's meeting in Paris a few days ago. This anti-political Syndicalism is also represented by such writers as Odon Por and Gaylord Wilshire, though their policy is to belittle political action rather than to attack it absolutely.

The basis of the Syndicalist opposition to the Socialist Party is the belief that "the state is only an instrument of oppression." The Socialist view on the contrary is that the state is only an instrument of *exploitation*—as long as it remains in capitalist hands.

Mr. Foster and Earl C. Ford, his collaborator, claim that Syndicalism is opposed to Anarchism. But their discussion of this point brings out the real truth of the situation, that Syndicalism and Anarchism in its modern form, which is that of an economic and class struggle movement, are identical. The pamphlet says:

"Syndicalism, besides its continual warfare with Socialism, which has already been sufficiently explained and described, has also an important point of quarrel with Anarchism. Though both movements are

at one in the matters of principle, ideals, etc., there is much friction between them. The cause for this is not hard to find.

"The Anarchist movement proper is an educational one. It says in effect: 'The misery of society is due to its ignorance. Remove this ignorance and you abolish the misery.' Consequently it places strong emphasis on its attempt to found the modern school; its educational campaigns against the state, church, marriage, sex slavery, etc. Anarchism is striving for an intellectual revolution.

"The Syndicalist movement, on the other hand, is a fighting movement. It ascribes the miseries of the workers to the wage system and expends practically all its efforts to build a strong fighting organization with which to combat and finally destroy capitalism. Syndicalism is striving for an economic revolution."

Individualistic Anarchism, it is true, is still an intellectual movement, but the communistic Anarchists, led by Prince Kropotkin, and supported in this country by Emma Goldman, have gone over bag and baggage to Syndicalism. Indeed, the Anarchists of France and Italy claim, with apparent truth, to have founded the movement.

To those unfamiliar with the American movement, it may seem strange that the new tendency, which is Anarchistic on one side, is conservative on the other. But those who know the history of the American unions, those who for example are fairly familiar with the McNamara case, especially in its ramifications, are aware that many of our Civic Federation, Democratic-Republican "labor leaders" are Anarchistic both in theory and practice.

The Syndicalist League of North America is very hopeful concerning the American Federation of Labor and its craft unions. It is aware that it will be impossible to secure a revolutionary majority in these organizations, whether of a Socialistic or of an Anarchistic character, and it has imported for this contingency the French Syndicalist theory of the power of "The Militant Minority."

"The militant minority, which is such a potent factor in the French labor movement, is utterly disorganized in the American labor movement. Even its existence as a factor in the labor movement—to say nothing of its potentialities—is unsuspected by all save a comparatively few observers. This state of affairs is directly due to the I. W. W.

"Ever since its foundation, seven years ago, the I. W. W. has carried on a vigorous propaganda of the doctrine that the old conservative unions are incapable of evolution and must be supplanted by a 'ready-made' revolutionary movement."

Like all the Syndicalist proposals, this "militant minority" policy is supported by volumes and volumes of theory. In reality it is the direct opposite of the class-struggle and is a reversion to sectional unionism. At the bottom of this theory is the proposition that when a minority secures control of any industry it is justified in using its power to the full against all the rest of the community, including the workers of all other industries. We can picture the reactionary character of this theory when capitalist governments, impressed with the power of the railway workers or miners, combine with these elements against the other ninety per cent of the working class. "The steel industry dictates to the rest of society in matters pertaining to the steel industry."

"There is nothing democratic in this procedure; but it is that of modern industry. And it has been so successful in the development of the industries under capitalism that it is very unlikely it will be changed in the future society. And why should it be?"

Here we see what must be the final outcome of Syndicalism—the combination of Anarchism and pure and simple unionism against revolutionary Socialism. And in the present attack of the French Anarchists, Syndicalists, and pure and simple unionists on the revolutionary Socialist and industrialist Gustave Hervé, we already see the beginning of this final stage of Syndicalism.

# The Passing of the Skilled Mechanic

What Ails the International Association of Machinists?

By HUGO LENZ

**A**WAII is rising from the ranks of the organized machinists. In the January issue of the *Machinists' Journal* an international vice-president in his monthly report voices the dissatisfaction that has been agitating the rank and file of the machinists' union for a long time.

The machinists are standing still. For the last seven or eight years, according to the admission of this international officer, their organization has not gained ground. But one can safely go further and say that, comparing its progress with that of other craft organizations, it has not only not gained, but actually lost ground.

The machinists have always considered themselves the backbone of the iron trades. The skill which had been required in the past to do the fitting and assembling of machinery gave them a place which could well be called the front rank of the manufacturing industries.

But there have been startling inventions in the iron and steel industry which have at one blow knocked the props out from under the craft superiority of the machinists.

In the early days the skill of the machinist depended largely upon his ability to measure, with the aid of calipers, the size to which the work was to be machined. The sensitiveness of his touch, the "feel" of the caliper, as he put it, determined the quality of the machinist as a close worker.

That stage of infant industry is now past. Today the machinist has the micrometer and it has superseded the calipers for accurate measurement. The instrument is similar in appearance to a horseshoe with a screw put through one side of it. This screw has forty threads to the inch and one revolution of the screw extends it twenty-five thousandths of an inch. By placing the micrometer over the piece of work to be measured and adjusting the screw until it touches the work, the graduations upon it will register the exact measurement in one thousandths of an inch or

in ten-thousandths in the finer make of instruments.

A boy or a woman can use the micrometer. In the large manufacturing plants women and boys do the finest quality of workmanship with the aid of mechanical measuring tools. That is why the I. A. of M. has had to admit women to its membership, but for the boys it still reserves an obsolete apprenticeship system which spells the deathknell of the craft union.

The machinist's apprentice no longer "puts in his time" learning to caliper. It takes too much time and the employer demands that he use micrometers or gauges. And so what has been considered the strong point of the machinists' skill is being relegated to the scrap heap of primitive industry.

But this is not the only thing which heralds the doom of the machinist as an independent craftsman. The automatic machine is here and most of the tools, cutters, gears and duplicate kinds of work are fed into the maw of the automaton.

Jigs, templets, snap gauges, gang cutters, the micrometer attachment on machines, and a multiplicity of other kinds of tools make it possible to do accurate work without any special adaptability on the part of the workman. The machinist in the large manufacturing plants has become an automaton—an adjunct to the machine. He is no different from the machine tender in any other industry where subdivisions of labor and specialization are supreme.

The automobile industry is a good example of intensified industry which has so thoroughly subdivided the work that such a thing as an "all around" machinist is as scarce as the "dodo" bird.

That does not mean that there no longer are all-around mechanics, but that in this particular industry, expediency and the pressure of competition force the automobile manufacturers to standardize and specialize the work. This makes it possible to take "green" country boys (corn-fed, the employers call them) into the shop and

make automobile mechanics of them in a few weeks or months. They may be able to do but one particular job or even but one operation, but that is all the company asks of them. This advance in industry has brought into being the specialist—that nightmare of the skilled mechanic.

The specialist is undermining the International Association of Machinists. A reactionary constitution, which accepts only "an intelligent white machinist" with four years' experience in any branch of the work and an exaggerated idea of craft superiority has made it impossible to organize this class of workers.

The automobile industry as such is unorganized and known everywhere as a notoriously open-shop outfit. The A. F. of L. has repeatedly tried to organize this industry, with no more success than it has had in the steel industry. Only One Big Organization of Automobile Workers along industrial lines can meet the emergency. The I. A. of M. realizes this and has lately been turning its efforts to the organization of specialists, but there will be no appreciable effect visible in the automobile industry until craft lines are obliterated in imagination and practice, as well as in fact.

Thus is the automobile industry being taken away from the machinists. The chauffeurs have already been lopped off and attached to the Teamsters' Union. The linotype machinists have been detached and hitched on to the Typographical Union. The Elevator Constructors have taken that branch of work away from the machinists. Those in the mining industry have been absorbed by the Mine Workers' organizations. The Electricians have torn away a big chunk in the electrical shops and made it a tail for their kite. The Carpenters want control of certain work. The American Flint Glass Workers' Union has been given jurisdiction by the A. F. of L. at the Rochester convention over the Mold Makers (machinists) over a protest from the officials of the I. A. of M.

The machine hands, steam fitters, pipe fitters, coppersmiths, millwrights, gas engineers, boiler makers, marine engineers, steam shovel engineers, and a number of other craft unions can all trace their lineage back to the machine shop.

All the big labor organizations are reaching out for the control of the machinists in

their particular industry. Nor can they be blamed. The miners know that when they go out on strike, it is imperative that they pull out the men who build and repair the machinery with which they work. This applies as well to the printers, electricians, teamsters and other organizations which use machinery.

But in the meanwhile what is going to become of the machinists? They have been wavering around the 70,000 mark for a long time and the mercury is falling. The International Association of Machinists as a craft organization is doomed. The dividing-up process will go on until the machinists are distributed among the industries in which they belong. And it is evident that as machinery is introduced into more and more industries the machinist will have to follow the machine and take his card along with him.

There is no need of an international officer asking what is wrong with the machinists' union. Those near the top should be able to hear the rumbling of the mass. The evolution of modern industry demands that the machinists, boilermakers, molders, patternmakers, blacksmiths, steam fitters and every other man in the iron and steel industry down to the last sweeper and oiler-up get into an Industrial Union of Metal and Machinery Workers. All those machinists who are not in a general manufacturing line should be turned over to the industry which they supply with machinery. That will answer the question, "What's Wrong."

In San Francisco we have the farce of the Steam Fitters objecting to having machinists work on the installation of refrigerator plants for \$3.50 per day while they are getting \$6.00 per day and Saturday afternoons off. Has the A. F. of L. any solution to this problem? Of what use is an Iron Trades Council when it cannot keep two of its affiliated unions from scabbing upon each other?

What excuse have the machinists for remaining a craft organization? According to our Vice-President's figures Philadelphia with 11,000 machinists has 1,100 organized. New York with 20,000 has 3,000 within the fold of the I. A. of M. And this ratio holds good wherever specialization is advanced.

In the west the organization is stronger

because industry is still largely in the competitive stage. It is easier to fight a number of small competing establishments than a Trust but wherever the Trust has invaded the field, there you find a weak machinists' union. Witness how the Steel Trust has weeded out the organization.

The machinists' union is fighting terrible odds. New inventions, standardization, specialization, efficiency systems, jurisdictional disputes, a re-actionary apprenticeship system and waning craft-skill are sapping the strength of the organization. Its

craft life is flickering like a wind-blown candle. It has lived its life and neither Father Time nor Economic Expediency know favorites. Unless it gets busy and brings itself into harmony with the development of industry there will soon be no craft organization of machinists.

But there is consolation in the hope that from the ashes of burned-out craft-unionism will rise a Phoenix to herald the dawn of an Industrial Republic which will know no divisions in the ranks of the Producers.

## WILL PROSECUTE MILL OWNERS

**T**HE barons of the textile industry in New York are bending all their efforts to convict those who helped men and women to wrest more bread from the mill-owners, in the now famous strike of Little Falls, N. Y.

It is the same old story. The so-called riot of October 30, 1912, was a police frame-up, manipulated by hired thugs, imported from tenderloin districts and paid by the mill-owners. The methods and the tactics of the **One Big Union** had closed the mills and success was unquestioned. The mill-owners faced a serious situation, alike to that of Lawrence—the "leaders" had to be secured. The public mind was prepared for the artificial drama, the capitalist press raised its clamor of the red flag and anarchy, the "Citizens Committee" was organized and on the morning of October 30, the trick was turned. For the first time during the whole strike, James J. Long, chief of police, was on the street in the mill district at 6 o'clock. Why was he there? Did he know that something was going to happen? All the rest of the hired thugs were there and they had their clubs and blackjacks. The strikers came peaceably marching down the street singing the "Marseillaise" but they knew not the plans laid against them. James J. Long, chief of police, struck the first blow, and the prisoners, now facing penitentiary terms, are the result.

These members of the working class are in serious danger. This is the first real fight made by the **One Big Union** in the State of New York. Every power of organized capital—with ex-Senator A. M. Mills, general counsel for the textile interests as special prosecutor to assist the district attorney, will be used to railroad these prisoners. They represent the best of the new labor movement—youth, virility and courage.

**We must save these prisoners from being railroaded to the penitentiary and we must prosecute the real criminals.**

As long as the labor movement is satisfied

with acquittals it gains nothing. Every fight that the **One Big Union** has been engaged in, has seen an attempt to railroad the so-called "leaders" on trumped-up charges. At San Diego 23 men were indicted for assault with intent to murder. When the time came for trial the district attorney dared not proceed. The same with Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso. We are out, not alone to secure the freedom of these prisoners, but to put the stripes on the **real criminals**. Are you willing to do your part?

We want ten thousand petitions sent the Hon. William E. Sulzer, Governor of the State of New York, Hon. Frank Shall, mayor of the city of Little Falls, New York, Hon. Charles Bell, county judge, Herkimer, New York, and to the Hon. William Farrell, district attorney of the County of Herkimer, Herkimer, New York, all demanding: (1) a fair and honest trial of these prisoners; (2) the removal from public office of James J. Long, chief of police of the city of Little Falls, New York; (3) a public hearing of formal charges against the said Long for brutalities which he himself committed or was party to; and (4) a search of the record of every public official of the city of Little Falls who was in any way a party to the inhuman brutalities and the judicial outrages of that city.

**Men and women of the working class, you must act.** These prisoners gave their liberty that the world may become free. These workers must restore their freedom. Capitalistic justice and judicial chicanery must be placed on trial on March 3, 1913.

Raise your voices in protest, hold meetings, raise funds for the defense, create agitation and be loyal to those who were loyal to you. Remember that these comrades and fellow-workers are in jail because their motto is, "**An Injury to One Is an Injury to All.**" Act at once. Send donations to Little Falls Defense Committee, Matilda Rabinowitz, secretary, Box 458, Little Falls, N. Y.



Photo by Paul Thompson.

## SHEEP HERDERS BY ONE OF THEM

**I**N addition to being exploited by his boss, the sheepherder is deprived of all semblance of the pleasant social relationships, the companionship of friends, all the joys of a home and the association of those that make life really worth the living.

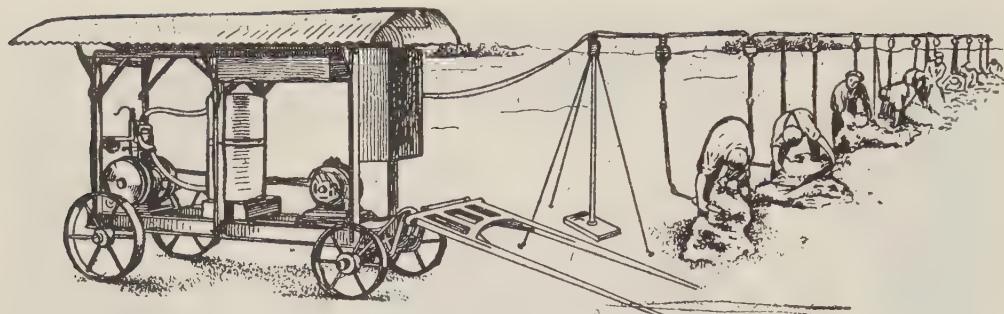
Nearly all our days are spent in complete isolation, except for the occasional visit of the camp tenders with supplies and our wages. Nearly all sheepherders develop an erratic, hesitating or a valuable manner, according to his individual reaction against an unnatural environment.

In spite of all the modernization in other industries, little or nothing has happened in the United States in herding sheep. In

Australia and England a portable sheep shearing machine is becoming generally used. These machines carry electric motor driven clippers that can be moved from place to place. But modern invention has not touched the sheep herder. We cannot even join a union.

Sexual emotions having no natural outlet or opportunity for transformation into other channels, such as love of home, children and social activity, take more or less unnatural forms. When a sheepherder gets into a town, he usually falls an easy victim to gamblers, drink or red light inmates.

Wages average from \$35 to \$55 a month. A usual herd is from 1,250 ewes, with their lambs, to 4,000 "dry" sheep, valuing from



SHEEP SHEARING BY ELECTRIC MOTOR DRIVEN CLIPPERS

\$4,000 to \$20,000. A camp-tender takes care of from two to four herds, hauling supplies and moving the camps.

Sheep still show a decided preference for certain bedding grounds, a heritage from their wild ancestors, and it takes experience to pick places for the night where the flock will give least trouble. The herder sleeps close to the sheep, ever on the alert to keep them from wandering away or to protect them from the ever-present enemy—the coyote.

One outfit handling eighty bunches of sheep loses, on the summer range, at least 5,000 sheep and lambs, due to the attacks of coyotes. There are many more lost through the crowding into bunches and trampling of lambs. Sheep have probably "bunched" for protection from the beginning of time—when in the vicinity of predatory animals.

It is estimated that fencing the range, and making it coyote and bob-cat proof, would pay for itself within three years; but this advance may be long in coming while

the herds are privately owned. This will be one of the tasks of social ownership. The increase in the number of sheep will be from 10 per cent to 30 per cent.

Owners feeding most hay have been permitted to "summer range" most of the government ground, cutting down the fall, winter and spring range and crowding the "other fellow" in the use of the "public domain."

Figuring in all expenses in sheep raising, I have estimated that the average cost of sheep meat is one cent and of wool three

ts a pound. Recently I bought an "all wool" coat, containing about two pounds of wool and four of cotton. No doubt the strikers at Lawrence or some other "foreign element" that did the washing and weaving—rioted in the leavings of that \$5.50 after the expenses of government, dividends, the army, freight and factory had been deducted. The sheep raisers probably got four cents. It would be interesting to know where the rest of that \$5.50 went.

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THE WORKERS BACK IT.—Butte, Montana:—Enclosed please find check for sixty dollars (\$60.00) to pay for a bundle of 100 REVIEWS for one year. Send the Bundle to Workingmen's Union, Box 588, Butte, Montana. Begin with the current January issue if you have them.—J. F. Mabie.

# The Art of PUBLIC SPEAKING

By HENRY GAINES HAWN

II.

President of the Hawn School, Inc., Carnegie  
Hall, N. Y. City



IN OUR last talk I indicated all that is necessary to do, in the way of exercises, to gain control of the breath, and to produce good tone in the speaking voice. That is, I told all that is essential for the merely mechanical training of the voice; now, not only is this not sufficient unto itself, but will lead nowhere unless this breath and tone are moulded into language according to the scientific and artistic demands of the tongue in which we are to speak.

The statement was made that the muscles, tensing or relaxing the vocal bands (to give pitch), were voluntary but *indirectly controlled*. This *indirect* method should be employed in all possible ways throughout the whole speech function. It is true that the organs of speech adjust themselves into certain relative positions to give the sounds of a language—but to take those positions consciously, produces a pedantic utterance, a stilted delivery, and interferes with the free and flexible flow of *thought*, not only disturbing to the auditor but hampering the speaker.

The phonetics of a language should be acquired through the *mental ear*; the attempt to reproduce them should be made by trying to cause the sound, when spoken, to correspond with the *imagined one*, the student paying no attention to position of the organs.

To illustrate: We can take *any* position of the articulating organs, and if the mind so wills, produce any or all other sounds in the language, while still maintaining the first, predetermined position. For instance: Take the position of the *soft "th"*, and you will find that you can hold it and, if the

mind so wills, go through the English alphabet; not, it is true, with clearness or beauty of tone, but with enough approximation to the changing sounds to prove that you cannot talk correct English by making muscular changes in the tongue, teeth, lips, uvula, glottis, etc., etc. Simply hear the sound, mentally, reproduce it (in silence), and make the effort to do so orally.

On the printed page I cannot tell you how to make any sound in the English language—even the markings of the dictionaries are no guide whatever except to tell you to pronounce one word, with which you are not familiar, as you do one with which you have a speaking acquaintance. Suppose you look how “bask,” is to be pronounced. You will find a diacritical marking over the “a”—and if you search the tables to see what the marking implies—you will see that the “a” is to be given just as you see it in “ask.” So, if you have been accustomed to say “assk”—you will say “bassk”; if “ahsk” you will say “bahsk”—and neither is correct.

You cannot speak good English until you know every *individual sound* in the language.

How are you to learn them? By *listening*. Even if you had the time, money and inclination to study under some capable instructor, I am not sure that this part of English speech is not best acquired by the simple art of listening.

No matter of what nationality you are, you hear English spoken all around you—mostly badly it must be confessed—but listen to the speech of the highly educated men and women with whom you come in

contact, and pay especial attention to public speakers of established reputations. Concentrate your mind upon the individual sounds in their words, and upon single words.

Pay no attention, at first, to a speaker's so-called big words, but listen to his "and," "but," "again," "as," "was," "often," "love," "is," "the," "thought," "won," "have," "had," "man," "boy," "are," etc., etc.; for such words are the backbone of English speech, and the whole fabric of this wonderful tongue is woven out of these sounds found in the simplest words.

The biggest word in the language is only a combination of little words (syllables), closely put together. I have chosen these words for your first study—because not even one in a hundred of native-born American can (or does), pronounce the whole list correctly.

"And" is one of the most important words in the tongue. Not because of its frequent use, but because the "a" being followed so quickly by the "n" sound, the almost universal habit is to give it such a "flat" sound and nasal twang that the effect of a man's whole speech is "flat and nasal." Hear some educated speaker say "hand," then make yourself a table of words rhyming with it.

Exercise:

"and,"	"fanned,"
"hand,"	"grand,"
"land,"	"manned,"
"stand,"	"tanned,"
"planned,"	

Hear a good speaker say "thought," and make another table as follows:

Exercise:

"thought,"	"naught,"
"bought,"	"sought,"
"caught,"	"taught."
"wrought,"	

These are perfect rhymes. Simple? Yes, but often mispronounced. Only a few days ago a pupil was complaining about her uncomfortable bed in her boarding house and said to me, "So I just went down-town and *bot* myself a *cawt*." She meant "bought myself a cot."

Before going farther it may be well to go back to my list of simple words and try to show with the printed word how they are often mispronounced. "But" is often made "bot." "Again" should be "agen," in this country. (In England nearly always "agane.")

"As"—the "s" should be given here as a "z." (It takes a long while for foreigners to learn to soften this final "s" in this way.)

"Was"—often made "woz"—should be "wahz."

"Often"—the "t" should not be sounded.

"Love," not "lahve"—nor "lof," but a perfect rhyme with "glove."

"Is," not "ees"—nor "eez."

"The," not "thee," unless in an emphatic position.

"Won" should be sounded as if spelled "wun."

"Have," should be easy to give correctly, but ninety-nine in a hundred say, "I haf ter do it."

"Boy"—not, in reality, a monosyllable in sound but "bo(i)i"; that is, the "o" has the sound of "o" in "or," and the "y" the sound of short "i" in "fire"—and in this combination of "oi" or "oy"—they never quite coalesce.

"Are"—another word rarely given correctly—most people say "ah you?" The word is really "ah-er."

This is enough to show that we must be able to give the individual sounds of a language if we are to use it with precision and accuracy, and doing so is what is called enunciation.

## DEBATING

By Jack Morton

PERHAPS nothing prepares the young speaker for soap-boxing so well as local debating clubs. This statement is based upon the supposition that he is well informed on the three sa-

lient points of Marxism, summed up in three cardinal divisions. To quote from Comrade Charles Rice's excellent article in the December REVIEW:

1. *Historical materialism or the materialist*

*conception of history*, often erroneously called *economic interpretation of history* and sometimes referred to as *economic determinism*. 2. *The theory of the class struggle*. 3. *Marxian economics*.

The two first doctrines, that is the *materialist conception of history* and the *class struggle theory*, are usually and briefly stated together as a coherent whole. To quote Engels (preface to the Communist Manifesto, German edition, 1883): "In every historical epoch, the economic production (that is the mode of production and exchange. Translator) and the social organization necessarily following from it form the basis upon which is built up the political and intellectual history of that epoch, accordingly all history (since the dissolution of primitive communal ownership of land) has been the history of class struggles, struggles between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes at the different stages of social evolution; this struggle, however, has now reached a stage in which the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot emancipate itself from (the rule of. Translator) the class—the bourgeoisie—that exploits and oppresses it without, at the same time and once for all emancipating all society from exploitation, oppression and class struggles."

According to historical materialism, all written history can be understood only in the *final analysis*, by considering as the basis the *economic structure* of a given epoch—slavery, feudalism, or capitalism—that is the mode of production and exchange of the means of life prevalent in that epoch.

We wish particularly to call attention, in this course, to this series of articles now running in the REVIEW. Note the Class Struggle, page 476, December number and Marxian Economics, page 550, January issue. These articles will prove particularly enlightening to the young student of Marx.

\* \* \*

Local debating clubs should be organized in every city, town and village in the country. One night every week should be set apart for debates and the subjects announced at least two weeks in advance. This will give the opposing sides time to prepare.

Be very careful in your choice of a subject. Do not choose a nebulous or abstract one. These cause endless confusion and the entire evening may be spent in defining your terms instead of debating the question.

I shall never forget the time I heard two of the best known debaters in the United States discuss the question: "Is Socialism Scientific?" The Socialist in question is one of the ablest men in the American

movement. His opponent was a man of culture and wide reputation. But the Socialist, able as he was, failed to DEFINE Socialism. As a result his opponent opened the debate by reading quotations from numerous writers most of whom knew absolutely nothing about scientific Socialism. One paper claimed that "Government Ownership," was Socialism. Another declared "Socialism is NOT Government Ownership." Jones made Socialism a philosophy and Smith saw in it a FUTURE state of society. The clergyman proclaimed it Christianity and the atheist wrote on the working class materialism. Somebody said it was a movement of the proletariat (working class) to abolish the wages system.

Now the opponent of this Socialist debater read aloud during the entire time allowed him, all the misleading, ignorant and even scientific quotations on Socialism that he could find. Before he was half through the audience began to titter with the humor of it. The opponent closed somewhat after this fashion:

Now that we have found that Socialism is spiritual and *not* material; is material and NOT spiritual; is a philosophy and NOT a philosophy; since we know that it does not exist but is only an ideal in the minds of a few men; a FUTURE society instead of a present FACT, I maintain that Socialism is not scientific. The crowd broke into roars of applause and the debate was lost beyond recall. The Socialist spent his time discussing scientific Socialism. But he was too late. His opponent replied that since terms had not been defined before the debate he was compelled to go to Socialist books and newspapers for his definition; that he had read definitions from the writings of many writers and editors and that they seemed to be not at all in accord.

Debaters cannot be too careful in the choice of a subject. Define your terms if necessary.

In a previous article Comrade Bohn suggested books to be read on the Materialist Conception of History. It is, as Comrade Rice says, almost impossible to take up this subject without understanding the theory of the class struggle. True, one might take the side in a debate to prove that the Supreme Court was instituted to serve the economic interests of large owners of private property. But it is only through

the OPPOSITION to this class, through the struggles of an exploited class against its exploiters, that the Supreme Court has had opportunity to function.

Society is not a fixed thing, having no connection with the past and no bearing upon the future. And it is the struggles of classes in society for greater economic advantage that make it move that produce history.

Kautsky's *Class Struggle* (Kerr & Co., cloth, 50 cents; paper, 25 cents), and Simons' *Class Struggles in America* (cloth, 50 cents; paper, 10 cents, Kerr & Co.), are two books that cannot be overlooked. They will furnish the speaker with unlimited subjects for debate.

#### Topics Suggested.

The old theory that society stood still until now and then a Great Man came along and pulled it a step forward, is directly opposed to the Materialist Conception of History. These two interpretations of history are rich in material to the debater.

The man who still holds to the Great Man theory points to Columbus, Washington and Abraham Lincoln as great makers of history. But the scientist looks for the economic needs underlying great movements. He finds all Europe intent on finding a shorter and cheaper route to India at the time Queen Isabella of Spain financed the expedition of Columbus.

We find the father of his country fighting to protect his newly acquired and immense domains in America against the English, stirred not by a love of universal freedom, justice or democracy, but by a desire to protect his private property interests. And so on.

Perhaps in your local you may find martyrs to the cause in your debating club, who will argue for the Great Man theory. There are men in every neighborhood, outside the Socialist Party, who may have the hardihood to be willing to stand up against the whole club in debate.

It will be their task to prove that social progress is due to the activities of a few great men. Those who debate on the Materialist Conception of History must have facts at the ends of their tongues to show

why the economic causes underlying social progress: the results following the discovery of steam as a motive power, the invention of the spinning jenney, the cotton gin, factory and trust production, etc., etc. They will need to show how the material needs of society or a certain class in society determined the form of that society—its government, religion, armies, educational system, ethical ideals—all its institutions.

In other words, the way food, clothing and shelter are produced and distributed determines the form that society will take whether it be a master and slave society, lord and serf or whether it be a capitalist and wage slave society. Material bread and butter interests are the chief stimuli back of all social institutions even those bearing the banner of justice, freedom, or morality. The Socialist will need to show the economic or food, clothing and shelter forces back of any given social stage.

It should always be an easy matter for Socialists to beguile outsiders to debate on these questions.

Then take any great movement associated with a well-known historical figure. Historians have preserved and eulogized the name of the Great Man believing that it was he or his idea that led the common herd one step further in the road to progress.

Marx and Engels have taken these various movements and studied, dissected and found the great economic needs expressed by them. Material needs were necessary to make them popular and possible.

Socialism, for example, is not a plan for a future co-operative commonwealth evolved out of the brain of one or several great men, but a movement based upon the material—economic needs of the working class.

Wars are fought at the urge of some great, usually hidden, economic interest. During the various stages in social evolution, governments have evolved to maintain and protect the changing DOMINATING economic interests. Human institutions are but the reflex of some powerful economic interest. Analyze them and the forces they foster or protect may be readily seen.



Photo by Alfred S. Witter.

THRESHING ON THE BIG BEND.

## THE MODERN FLAIL

BY

JEAN L. HASKINS

HERE is some contrast between "Grandad's Old Flail" and the "Modern Flail" that beats out the wheat to make biscuits for hungry humanity. Grandad planted a little patch of wheat about the size of a garden. When harvest time came he got out the "old cradle," whetted it up with a scythe stone, went down in the field and cut the crop by sheer muscle force and perspiration. Crude and primitive as his methods were, yet there was some satisfaction in his work. He could stop occasionally to spit on his hands, rest a few moments in the shade of the old tree in the fence corner, or talk with neighbor Smith who was passing along the road.

In due time the grain was hauled in to the barn floor, and again with "muscle force" and perspiration, the berries were mauled out of the straw with the old "flail stick." If it was warm and dusty, the

doors were opened and grandad took a drink of cider. The necessity of providing bread for the world along with inventive brains has changed grandad's methods and if he could see his grandson today, holding down a job on a modern flail he would be apt to say, "That beats my time."

Inexperienced travelers, no doubt, often wonder where all the wheat is raised to feed man, and how it is harvested. And their wonder would grow were they to see a modern flail stick being used.

In the wheat producing states there are fields with nothing but roads along the section lines to divide them from fields of similar size.

Already the barb-wire fences that once cut up the land into small patches are fast being removed.

The large farm is steadily growing larger. This is strikingly true of Wash-

ton. Hundreds of original homesteader shacks in this district are tumbling down and wasting away. Hundreds more have been torn down and the land put to better use. The country was once worked by a much larger population than now. Many of the more determined and persistent ones who stayed and bought out their neighbor's homesteads have since become wheat growing capitalists or the capitalist farmers. They count their acres, not by hundreds, but by thousands.

Most of the plowing and seeding is still done with a force of men and horses with the sand plow, and press drill, the common traction engine not being practical on account of the loose nature of the soil. But the "caterpillar traction engine," a recent invention, is proving a success and it is only a question of a very short time before they are in general use on the large farm, displacing men and horses.

The writer saw three of these engines at work in a radius of a few miles recently. One of these "outfits" with three men handling it, plowed 160 acres in one and three-fourths days, which formerly meant the work of 12 days for one man and 6 horses.

There are three methods of cutting and threshing at present. 1st. The stationary machine with two headers, which moves into the fields, cuts and threshes directly from the cycle. This method is not very practical. It is too expensive, wasteful and dependent. If the machine breaks down the headers must stop, or while the machine is moving and setting again, if the headers break down the machine must stop, this involves a loss of time and profit to the owner. 2nd. The one in general use at present. A force of seven men to a header, with twenty-two horses, cut and stack the grain in ricks, generally 65 feet long, and 10 feet wide, and as high as the men can pitch handily. Later the stationery machine moves about the fields from one setting to another and threshes them out.

As shown in photo, the third method is the "combined header and thresher," and the one that is fast gaining supremacy. It is more adapted to the large farm. Five men with 36 head of horses take the place of an entire threshing crew, and heading crew combined. One of these machines in this neighborhood cut and threshed 80 acres

in 9½ hours. The latest improvement in this machine is a gasoline engine to drive the machinery, with just enough horses to pull it about the fields. A few are using the "caterpillar" for motive power, which is soon destined to become the machine driving force on the "large farm." The small farmer cannot possibly compete with his capitalist grain growing neighbor who uses this machine.

A few words regarding the "nondescript" that follows the route of the harvest fields. When the harvest is ready he seems to appear instinctively, like the birds in the spring, only his route is not north and south like the bird, but in every direction; wherever work can be found. So you find him flocking to the harvest fields in large numbers. Most of these men have been crowded out of their jobs by the constant encroachment of the "labor saving machine." A great deal of extra help is still needed at harvest, but soon this gate-way of temporary relief for the unemployed will be closed, with the adoption of the more modern farm machinery and the extension of the large farm. He will not be needed. What is to become of these men when every avenue of employment is closed against them, and their numbers constantly increasing? These are questions the old party politicians are up against, and only the Socialist can answer. These farm laborers have been dubbed "Blanket stiffs." Jesus said to the man, "Take up thy bed and walk." But today he would need to say, take up thy home and walk.

The "blanket stiff" carries a roll of bedding on his back wherever he goes. His blanket is virtually his home. He knows no other when in the harvest fields. Whenever you see a man with a bundle of bedding on his back you will know that he is a working man; is willing to work, and does work. But the moment he throws away his blankets he becomes a tramp. The inducements to come to the harvest fields sound good to the ear; \$2.50 to \$3.50 per day and board, sounds big, but it is not, considering working conditions and the number of hours one must put in, and the short season. In the threshing season, you are awakened in the small wee hours of the morning by a shrill blast from the engine whistle; you scramble out of your nest of blankets and straw and put on your

clothes (if you have taken them off). The machine starts in a few moments, and threshes one hour. You have now worked up an appetite for breakfast. The machine stops and you hurry to the cook wagon, which is always nearby and swallow a few bites of food. The machine starts again in 20 or 30 minutes and you work until noon. A few moments for dinner and you are at it again. The sun goes down, night comes on; it grows dark. Lanterns are then lighted and placed around in various places so you can see to work. The machine keeps on grinding until 7 or 8 o'clock. About that time the whistle blows and you are ready for a big supper. Overloading your stomach, you crawl into your nest again for a few hours of rest. In the morning the dose is repeated, and every day as long as you stay with it. You can never stop to rest in the shade or talk. When you take a job on the modern flail you are just as much a part of the machine as if you were bolted fast to it. You have

a certain work to do, no matter where your position is, in the dust and dirt, heat and cold; you stick to it or someone else will take your place.

There is very little singing, joking or laughter about the modern flail. If the machine stops for a few moments when something goes wrong, the men sit or lie down at their posts, but they are up again the moment it is started, as though they were controlled by some mechanism worked by a hidden lever.

You may wonder why men will work under such conditions, but the work is only temporary, and they are forced to endure. Until recently, owing to the isolated nature of their work, it has been impossible to organize them and men are willing to do much in order to have something laid by for their families when cold weather comes on. Then there are single men who will slave awhile for a small stake that may pull them through part of the winter if jobs are scarce.

## The Recruiting Officer and His Reward

**R**K. DANFORTH, the valiant young naval recruiting officer of Pittsburgh, Pa., who challenged the men writing naval exposures for the REVIEW to prove their charges, is an officer no more. He has been relegated to the quiet of home life in Milwaukee.

The little comedy in which the REVIEW took part is at an end. Thanks to the splendid work of Fred Merrick, on the Pittsburg *Justice*, a Socialist made the acquaintance of the young recruiter, pumped him dry on recruiting methods and imposed upon his young confidence.

While Danforth was valiantly flourishing his pen in behalf of the U. S. navy and the War Department at Washington the Socialist reporter camped on his trail and kept the printers busy working overtime.

Thereupon the Pittsburg *Justice* let loose the whole disgusting story which reached over 40,000 men and women in Pennsylvania.

About this time the report got out that Danforth had contracted pneumonia and

had returned to his home in Milwaukee to recuperate.

The following is a part of the stenographic report made of the Edw. Shay end of a telephone conversation between him and Mr. Fanger, Danforth's successor at the naval recruiting station:

"What trouble did Danforth get in with the (war) Department? Telegram received from the Department (at Washington) saying his discharge was authorized? Why was he sent to the hospital? Nervous prostration? You told me over the 'phone before that he had pneumonia. . . . Did he get married here in town to a girl at the Home Hotel, and did he get in bad with that girl? That is all you know about him? Running into consumption was the cause of his discharge so he could be sent to a sanitarium?

You never did anything about Danforth's articles that appeared in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW? I am going to publish why Danforth left the service. It was not because he was a consumptive,

but because the Department does not want to let the people on the outside know the other side of affairs in the Navy. You know the Navy does not like to have such stuff appear in the papers and magazines. It was published in the REVIEW and in *Justice* here. This is not good for the Navy and this is why Danforth was really pushed out of the service. He was too loud-mouthed and drawing people out on this position. That is why he had to leave it."

Danforth, directly after the announcement appeared in *Justice* the middle of last month, received a communication from Washington which was everything but encouraging. Immediately after that he was taken suddenly ill. After coming out of the Presbyterian Hospital on the North Side, things began to go from bad to worse. The Navy Department at Washington was completely up in the air over the hornet's nest this recruiting boob had stirred up in this neck of the woods.

Danforth started something that he could not finish and the way he handled it reminds me of the fellow who got hold of a bear's tail and while racing around the tree cried, "Lord, help me to let go of this bear." We will patiently await the appearance of the next Hercules.—*Pittsburg Justice*.

We want to congratulate Comrades Shay, Fred Merrick and the others on the Pittsburg *Justice* for the splendid work they have done for anti-militarism in Pittsburg. The methods of one recruiting officer there are known from one end of the state to the other.

Mr. Danforth was, until very recently, we infer, a very positive young man, always ready to wield the cudgels in behalf of the masters of his job.

We take a great deal of pleasure in re-

printing, for his edification and consolation, quotations from Mr. Danforth's letter published in the January REVIEW:

"No one can deny that punishments are inflicted in the navy, but I maintain that THEY ARE ALWAYS JUSTIFIED."

This ought to be a great comfort to Danforth. He spared neither his tongue nor his pen in behalf of his masters, and he has (been?) retired to private life. This is the usual reward of the humble man in the Service. He fights for his masters or scrubs for his officers and gets nothing. We are glad to have Danforth enjoy the Common Lot. He continues in his letter to the REVIEW:

"Why don't the men appeal to Washington? They would certainly receive prompt redress." Good advice. Follow it, Doughty Champion. "Punishments in the Navy are ALWAYS justified" and if you are not satisfied with your portion "appeal to Washington." You will receive prompt redress. This is more than consoling.

Some reports have it that Danforth contracted consumption while in the service. In that case his lot will be an easy one, for—again referring to his enthusiastic letter in the REVIEW:

"The Navy will do all that is possible for a man, even going so far, in some cases, as to furnish a trained nurse for the rest of his life."

Although we have not been consulted upon this point, we are free to admit that we believe the Navy Department owes Mr. Danforth this much. Whatever other virtues he may have possessed, he met his undoing while championing the cause of the Department. While we are not at all certain of the nature of his ailment, we are confident of his need. We hope that in this extreme case the Navy Department will go the limit and count Mr. Danforth a particularly worthy case.

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**A Live One.**—As you know, I ordered 20 copies of the REVIEW last week and thereby hangs a tale. I got them from the office at 4 o'clock that night and had them all sold and six orders taken on another bundle. I haven't hardly recovered from the shock yet, as this was my first attempt here with the REVIEW.—J. Jay Hisel, Iowa.



HOUSE BOATS ON THE YANG TSE.

## STANDARD OIL IN CHINA

BY

MARK SUTTON

A FRIEND who has spent many years in China tells an interesting story of what he calls The Standard Campaign in the Celestial Empire.

According to his reports, years ago the Emissaries of His Excellency, John D., were for forever battering at the gates of the ancient cities to make known their wares.

Christian missionaries and missions all over the empire were supplied with free oil and kerosene lamps. With non-sectarian generosity the shepherds of the "heathen" flocks were likewise blessed. It mattered not what Gods they worshipped, nor the manner of their creed. In the sanctuary of great numbers of priests in the far corners of the land, there shone forth in the darkness of the night, small kerosene lamps bearing witness to the pushing abilities of the great American oil company.

Some of the most imposing dignitaries deigned to accept hanging oil lamps and palaces began to be illumined in a truly

marvelous manner through the courtesy of his Majesty, the American Capitalist.

When the Chinese wall was at last demolished and the Open Door policy adopted "foreigners" began to appear in China as if by magic. Soon little streams of Standard Agents were making their way over the Empire, sometimes by river or canal, or in wobbly rickshas and occasionally by rail. Often they were accompanied by coolies bearing great burdens of tiny red kerosene lamps.

In nearly every village some poor Chinaman was made the happy owner of one of these delightful inventions, which was filled with oil. Aladdin's Lamp was nothing to compare with the wonder of it. You had but to ignite the little rag sticking up in the middle and behold! light came into your hut or your house in the middle of the night!

But the poorer classes of China were not accustomed to sitting up in the evening. From the breaking of dawn until it be-



HUTS OF THE POOR IN NANKING.

came too dark to work, they toiled assiduously. After that they went to bed. Besides, cheap as was kerosene offered them, they could not afford to buy it except for gala occasions. But their ideal of a standard of living had been raised. Every Chinaman wanted to own and use one of the little red lamps.

For a long time the Standard made only uphill work among the "private consumers," although almost every new industry that opened up in the Empire was forced to use some of its products. Gradually the canal and river boats learned to BURN oil, and sometimes on a night of festivities, the little house-boats swarming the rivers would celebrate by lighting up for an hour or two and set their less fortunate neighbors chattering with astonishment.

But it was the factory workers, the mill hands and mine workers who first began to use lamps regularly. All of their hours during daylight were spent at work. Lamps became an actual necessity to them. Besides they were earning more than they had under the old regime and could afford them.

Several years ago it was discovered that China possessed some of the richest oil fields in the world. The *Popular Mechanics Magazine* tells a story of the sinking of

an oil well in the good old-fashioned Chinese way, in the province of Szechuen.

The Chinese drilled by hand through 2,000 feet of solid rock to reach oil. When everything was running smoothly as much as twelve inches was drilled in twelve hours. It required about three years to dig a well.

Although things are moving with incredible swiftness in China and modern methods have probably reached the oil fields by this time, the first Chinese oil wells were drilled after the following manner:

"If there is a depth of 3 or 4 feet of soil above the underlying solid rock, the Chinese plant a tube of hollow wood in the earth, the lower end touching the rock. A large stone through which a hole 4 or 5 inches in diameter has been cut, is placed above the upper end of the tube, the hole in the stone being directly above the hollow tube. The boring machinery is next erected. A large hoisting drum is set up vertically a little way from the well. The axle of the drum is 7 to 8 feet long, made of wood, and terminates in an iron pin at each extremity, the lower pin working in a dressed stone, the upper in a strong crossbeam mounted on two firmly fixed wooden tripods. At about 5 inches from either end of



CHILDREN SWIMMING AT END OF ROPE.

the axle there is a row of wooden spokes projecting 4 to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet, and to the outer ends of these are affixed upright rods parallel with the axle. The skeleton drum is thus formed, and upon it is wound the cable used in raising and lowering the drill. This cable, of rattan cord, passes from the drum to a wooden lever resting on a wooden frame, where it is attached by means of a swivel. It next passes down the hollow tube, its end being attached to the boring bit, an iron rammer weighing from 200 to 400 pounds, which is notched and made a little concave above and convex below. The length of the cable is so adjusted that the lever is horizontal when the bit is just resting on the bottom of the well. To depress the lever and raise the bit, two sets of men jump from side platforms onto the lever and back again to the platforms. Sometimes, however, only one man is employed. The bit is raised about 2 feet and then let fall by its own weight. About 720 to 900 strokes per hour are delivered. While the bit is in the air, an-

other man twists the swivel a little so that the teeth of the bit strike on a fresh surface. This man, also, from time to time, throws into the hole a few pails of water to soften the material composing the rock, and reduce it to pulp, which is removed by lowering a cylinder of about 60 pound weight in which is cut large cup-shaped grooves, into the well. The pulverized rock is forced into the channels of the cylinder by moving the cylinder up and down a few times, whereupon it is drawn up and the powdered rock removed.

To draw water from the well, a 24-foot tube of bamboo, at the bottom of which is a valve or sucker, is sunk into the well until it reaches the bottom. A strong man works a rope connected with the valve so that every shake opens the latter and permits the water to rise in the tube. The tube being full, a great spindle-shaped cylinder, upon which the rope of rattan is wound, is turned by two or more buffaloes until the tube is drawn up.

# Industrial Socialism In Italy BY Samuel W. Ball



TIME was in Italy when the trust owned all the glass factories and gave employment to about three thousand men.

The men employed in that industry were paid such wages and worked under such conditions as the master saw fit to determine. In due course of time the men employed at one of the glass furnaces went on strike against an employer who had refused to accede to a series of demands made by the union.

This strike lasted a year and out of the incidental troubles and hardships there was born the idea of starting a glass factory to be owned and operated by the workers themselves.

To accomplish this required a tremendous effort. Nevertheless, the Union Glass Blowers succeeded in starting a factory of their own, raising the necessary funds by their own efforts. Many of the bottle blowers sold all their belongings, including the beds they slept on, to contribute their share. In this manner was started an Industrial Union Glass Factory, owned entirely by the union.

This factory was an immediate success and it was not long until a second one was founded which gave employment to other members of the union. Without the help of masons or mechanics the second factory was builded and in operation at the end of six weeks.

By this means the great glass trust of Italy was whipped; the strikers going to work in their own factory and thus compelling the trust to grant union wages and conditions for the men in the bottle industry.

But still another problem presented itself to the owners of the trust. The Industrial Union Factory began to draw heavily on the trade and the Bottle Blowers' Union became a most formidable competitor of the trust.

The trust therefore began an aggressive campaign against the Bottle Blowers' Union, which resulted in more strikes. As each strike occurred, the strikers contributed what money they had, and started a co-operative bottle factory, the consequence of it all being that the trust was forced to relinquish much of the profit on their goods, and much of their patronage.

Thereupon, the trust began to introduce some of the tactics employed in the United States, cutting prices and underselling the union in the bottle market. Finally, as a last resort they attempted to induce the banks to refuse the union credit.

But even by these tactics the trust failed to obtain results, owing to the growing demand of the public for union factory goods. These men employed greater care and efficiency in the manufacture of bottles, and their product was so superior that their entire output was sold in advance and

higher prices were obtained than the trust could command, for their goods.

Today there are in Italy about 3,500 members in the Bottle Blowers' Industrial Union, 2,500 of them being employed by themselves in the factories owned by the union and the remaining 1,000 employed by the trust. All of the men are members of the union and all are shareholders in the union bottle works, including those who still remain in the employ of the trust.

All the bottle blowers of Italy are owners of their factories and the trust magnate realizes that he has in his employ men to whom he pays wages, who are at the same time in competition with him for the bottle trade of southern Europe. The trust uses the man's time, but any new knowledge he acquires or new inventions introduced, he gives to the union to help his fellow workers to make a better bottle for the market. He draws wages from the capitalist but his heart, and mind are with his brothers in the union factory. If the boss fires him the union employs him and in this way, the Bottle Blowers' Union of Italy dominates the trade.

That the workers have made a brilliant success of this venture is no longer questioned. Qdon Por writing for an English review attributes the success of the bottle blowers to two factors, as follows:

First, the technical efficiency of the glass blowers, developed through their effort to create collectively something new and posi-

tive. Second, their moral solidarity evolved through this Socialistic training.

"In their struggles," he says, "they forget their immediate interests and work with all their might for the liberation of their whole class from the tyranny of capitalism. They are dominated by a social vision, by a greater sense of human fraternity. In all the factories of this union there is not a single overseer, and the technical and business managers are all bottle blowers."

When the men came to a realization of their success it revolutionized their lives. They gave up drink and dissipation and are now devoting their spare time to the study of industrial and social problems. They take no profits or dividends for themselves but contribute such money to the support of mutual aid societies. The desire to become capitalists and prey upon their fellows has left them. They realize that the sooner they and the rest of the working class learn to free themselves from the tyranny of capitalism the better it will be for them and the world.

The Bottle Blowers' Union of Italy has given a practical demonstration of what the workers can do when left to themselves. These men are directing their own affairs and doing it ably.

After this manner the Italian railway workmen, bottle blowers and other workers have demonstrated the power of labor, and the idea of industrial Socialism is fast permeating the educational and political institutions of Italy.

## THE BOOM IN MEXICO

For some months past the financial journals have been yodeling their praises of the New Mexico between demands for peace, and complaints because Madero refused to "put down all uprisings" via the gun route, as did his "estimable predecessor."

The truth is Madero is a really kind-hearted man. Instead of silencing, with machine guns, men who voice their wrongs, he prefers to seek Reforms. But reforms are slow and not always efficacious anyhow, and the capitalist class has become disgusted. What does it care for the lives of a few unhappy rebels!

Better that there be Peace at any price, in order that Business and manufacturing and railroad building proceed, and profits come by and by! Is it not so?

Just inside Monterey the new \$10,000,000 steel plant is turning out steel rails that are used for the new railroads. Nearby are the huge smelters controlled by the Guggenheims, representing a capital of millions and still farther is a great brewery that looks as though it might have been picked up bodily from Milwaukee or St. Louis and planted there.

There are rich mineral lands yielding silver and gold. The railroads supply iron

and coal. There are in many cities million dollar hotels built of reinforced concrete. The brick and concrete age has set in in Mexico.

Cities are putting in sewers, water works and electricity plants as well as street railways. There are nearly 50,000 Americans who are engaged in mining, manufacturing or other lines in Mexico.

The soil produces almost every kind of crop desired by man and American companies are now setting out banana plantations not far from the Mexican gulf. The mines in Mexico are now turning out about \$80,000,000 worth of gold, silver, copper and lead every year. Its coal fields have scarcely been touched. It contains mountains of iron. And it has the greatest oil fields now being operated in any part of the world.

Mexico contains over 16,000 miles of

railroads and over 1,000 miles are in course of construction. But during times of turmoil, such works cease and it is for this reason and in order to promote a Peace profitable to American manufacturers that the United States is being asked to send troops into Mexico today.

The water powers are being "harnessed" and are developing their own electricity. In this connection new factories are springing up everywhere. There are now 142 cotton mills in operation. Large smelters are to be built and oil refineries to be erected.

In the name of Business, say the great American capitalists, Let there be Peace!

Doubtless the iron hand of another Diaz regime will bring it—the Peace of Death that knows no rebel awakening. If it does not, American capitalists will see to it that the U. S. Army does.

## STEREOPTICON LECTURES



WENDELIN A. DIEBOLD.

FOR several years the REVIEW has had its photographers in the thick of every strike and the class struggle in many lands. We have gathered the best working class group of photographs in America.

We have decided to give Socialist Party locals in Illinois, Indiana and Ohio a chance to see stereopticon slides of these photographs during March and April in an illus-

trated lecture by Wendelin A. Diebold, one of the best known and most brilliant young speakers on the Pacific Coast. He has already toured Illinois and Ohio and dozens of requests are coming from locals that want him back again. On Feb. 9th, Diebold gave his stereopticon lecture in Chicago. Of it the chairman writes:

"Every Socialist local that can make arrangements for a stereopticon lecture on 'The March of the Machine' should do so. The initial lecture, delivered at the Twenty-first Ward Branch, Chicago, by Comrade Diebold, was a tremendous success."—Walter Huggins.

In order to make it possible for small as well as large locals to secure Diebold and his wonderful pictures, we are going to give every one a date that agrees to send in \$25 worth of REVIEW subscriptions—25 yearlies, 50 six-month subscriptions, or 100 three-month subscriptions. Several hustlers have written that they can ALONE dispose of \$25 worth of REVIEW subscription cards and secure a FREE lecture for their local. Five wideawake members can get five yearly subscriptions each in one evening. Get the local to authorize you to write for cards and a DATE. The first to respond will have their choice of dates. We pay all expenses, except hall rent. Each three-month subscription card is good for admission to the lecture.

# SOCIALIST THEORY AND TACTICS

By CHARLES A. RICE

## IV

HAVING traced the beginnings of the pure-and-simplist dogma, let us see how it worked in practice and what were its far-reaching effects upon the entire Socialist and labor movement of western Europe.

To get a clearer view of its practical workings, we must again first turn to Germany. Nowhere else has the Social-Democratic movement reached greater dimensions, nowhere else is it better organized and disciplined, and nowhere else was its march more steady and irresistible than in Germany, the classic home of consistent and persistent parliamentary Socialism.

The German Social Democracy has become *the* model for all the other sections of the International Socialist movement. In spite of its enormous size, the great scope of its activities and the complexity of its make-up, the Social Democracy is notably singular for its stability, its well-knit wholeness and compactness; it defies all friction and frowns down any tendency to split. It has wonderful power for reconciling and harmonizing divergent tendencies arising within its own frame. This mechanism, well-oiled and frictionless, drives and steers the whole complex ship amid the clash of Bernstein's revisionism to the right, Kautsky's orthodox Marxism in the center, and the revolutionary swing of Parnas, Pannekoek, Rosa Luxembourg, and others to the left.

The eyes of all Socialists are trained on our German comrades. Our heartbeats quicken and our attention becomes keenly alive at the reports from every Parteitag; we are stirred by the issues raised and discussed, the decisions arrived at, and the slogans formulated at these annual conclaves of the Social Democracy. Our German comrades adopt or reverse their policies and tactics only after thorough discussion and investigation carried on through the medium of the party press and in party meetings. This collective thinking and research bearing on grave issues and questions that the movement in Germany has

frequently to face, find their climax and their finished expression in the prolonged debates and intellectual bouts in connection with exhaustive reports presented to each Parteitag. Here the data are thoroughly digested, the issues fought out, and a course of action is mapped out for the parliamentary delegation, the party executive, and the general activity within the various sections of the movement all over the country. The tactical methods adopted after such exhaustive mental effort on the part of a whole party naturally fetter the attention of all Socialists and assume an international value; such decisions become as it were universal standards of Social-Democratic thought and action.

All of us eagerly watch the fortunes of the Social-Democracy; we are flushed with its triumphs and feel depressed at its defeats; the struggles of our German comrades, their strivings and aspirations, their achievements and failures, and all their doings and efforts we regard in a sense as our own. We have a responsive chord for every new development within that movement.

In view of all this, we must view at close range what pure-and-simple parliamentary Socialism has given the German proletariat, since this is the best method for "sizing up" pure-and-simplism in general. We must study pure-and-simplism at its best, audit its account, find its assets and liabilities, its *pluses* and *minuses*, its lights and shades, before we can strike a correct balance. This close survey of the field in Germany will help us to find our bearings amid the maze of pure-and-simplist zigzags in the rest of western Europe and will prove a powerful searchlight for disclosing and correctly evaluating the tendencies and prospects of the movement nearer at home.

### A. Effects of Pure-and-Simplism in Germany.

1. BRIGHT FLASHES AT THE PLUS END.
  - Political training and organization of the German proletariat.*

All Socialists are proud of the German Socialist movement and of its splendid work along the lines of educating the German wage-workers in theoretical Socialism and organizing them politically. Our German comrades can point to a brilliant record of achievement in unremitting up-hill work against tremendous odds. From the very pioneer days they had to face a formidable array of political and social foes and parasites.

Foremost and fiercest among these was, and is, the powerful horde of Prussian Junkerdom,—the landed nobility—this predatory caste with its feudalistic prerogatives and baronial rapacity; they are the agrarian vultures that still prey upon the vitals of the German proletarians. These medieval Junker parasites are at the helm of the government and the army. They are principally responsible for the fact that German workers are practically disfranchised in Prussia under the three-class electoral fraud. They have tightened their grip upon the German consumer, bleeding him with extortionate tariff on foodstuffs until he is driven to dog meat and a starvation diet.

Next in order was the cowardly pack of town burghers, prosperous farmers, and other gentry of a lick-spittle bourgeoisie capped by the cringing and fawning crew of professors, bureaucrats, and sky-pilots of all denominations. These layers of the middle-class, satisfied with the constitutional sop thrown to them from the Hohenzollern heights and their flesh pots, forgot all their revolutionary traditions of 1849, threw overboard all their former liberalism and freethought, and went on their knees before "the personal regime," "by the grace of God." In their fright at the awakening of the industrial proletariat, they began to worship the Prussian sabre and to kiss the police club. These simpering loyalists hated and feared the class-conscious workers still more than the landed aristocracy and the clergy, and so they surrendered completely to the semi-autocratic, semi-feudal regime, cut their own political liberties and spat upon their own democratic manhood in order to keep down the under dog and deprive him of any chance at the political end of the class struggle.

Then came the magnates of centralized industry and high finance with their voracious appetites for profits, their lust for power and colonial plunder. These espe-

cially needed a strong government with its standing army and navy to protect and promote their loot at home and abroad,—a government that could trample upon the civic and political rights of the wage-workers and put down its iron heel upon their class aspirations. These were and are the strongholds of dark reaction which the Socialist battalions of Germany had to storm for the conquest of the very modest dose of democracy they now enjoy and for forcing economic reform.

In the teeth of such foes, the Social Democracy fought a noble fight and braved the fierce persecution during the twelve years of the Anti-Socialist Law. It has organized the German workers in the solid ranks of the political army and has materially helped in developing their political class vision, solidarity, and discipline to a high pitch unparalleled elsewhere. It has weaned them away from political bondage to bourgeois parties and has trained them to think, feel, and vote for their own class. This itself is an achievement of no mean merit. No other section of the Socialist movement the world over can point to a similar item in its credit column, since none but the German Social Democracy has armed the workers with such bullet-proof armor of class discipline on its political side as to induce them year after year, for forty years, to vote for the party of their class.

But the German Social Democracy has been and still is something more than merely a huge and efficient machine for turning out millions of Socialist votes and filling up the extreme left of the Reichstag. Every great social movement, on close inspection, is bound to disclose two separate structures which we may conveniently call the *core* or central *nucleus* and the *outlying* fringe. They are to each other what the nucleus of the cell is to its surrounding nutritive protoplasm and vice versa. This nucleus or *core* in a social organism is the essential structure around which gathers the peripheral *fringe*. The first performs the functions of cell-building and reproduction, the second supplies the building material. The activity of the first is confined to the cell as such, while the latter may and does extend the scope of its operations far beyond the cell proper; it may and does come into close contact with other cells and profoundly affect them in various ways.

This is especially the case in a Socialist movement of such dimensions and complexity as the German Social Democracy is. These two structures, of course, usually touch elbows and shade off one into the other to such an extent as to elude detection. The trained observer, however, will easily sift them out on close inspection, his searching eye will distinguish them by their difference in function and especially by their specific effects or reactions on their environment. In order to arrive at a true estimate of the total effect of the Social Democracy upon the entire Socialist and labor movement in Germany, we must sharply mark off the *fringe* from the *core*.

The parliamentary activity of the party proper, that is all the work connected with election campaigns, the activity of the party delegations at the Reichstag, the various provincial Diets (Landtags), municipal councils, and executive bodies in the several kingdoms, dukedoms and other political and administrative subdivisions of Germany, as well as the organizations, bodies, or personnel in charge of all these activities,—this is the *core* of the pure-and-simplist Social Democracy.

Its *fringe* consists of all those activities and organs that lie essentially on the outskirts of the sphere covered by the *core* proper, and comprises a variety of functions and agencies to a great extent out of the sway of pure-and-simplism. These are: the party press and literature, the schools and the general educational activities; the non-parliamentary part of the propaganda carried on by various sections and groups of the party membership; the activities and personnel connected with supporting strikes and boycotts, organizing demonstrations out of campaign time, or with extending various forms of financial aid and moral support, both within and outside of the party, for advancing the movement at home or abroad.

Now, the positive, energizing, and constructive action of the Social Democracy over and above what it has accomplished in point of political education and organization of the German workers, that is the other items in its credit columns, was largely if not entirely due to its *fringe*. These items come under the following heads:

### b. *The Press and Literature.*

The party has built up and developed a Socialist press and a literature on a scale so vast and of such solid worth as to stagger the imagination of non-Teutonic Socialists. Their magnitude far surpasses anything done along similar lines on both sides of the English Channel, and within the bounds of Yankeedom combined. The quantitative strength of this German effort is out of all proportions either to the area of Germany or of its population, while its compelling educational force is simply beyond gauge. We leave out of account what German Socialists have accomplished along these lines outside of Germany in the "Little Germanies," all over both hemispheres—as indirectly due to the inspiration and help of the Social Democracy at home. We are dealing here with production for the home market only.

The Socialist printing presses all over the Fatherland are humming away for their dear lives day in, day out; they work at high speed, turning out a vast succession of newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, and books,—all of them containing scientific "red" stuff of a high grade. This does not take in the enormous bulk of all kinds of printed matter for propaganda, such as leaflets, appeals, etc. Over 100 Socialist dailies, weeklies, and monthlies are published in Germany. The circulation of the "*Vorwärts*,"—the central party daily published in Berlin—alone almost reaches the million mark. Let us glance at what this press accomplishes.

The German wage-worker, if he is a Social Democrat, which is mostly the case, has no need for the capitalist press. His Socialist daily supplies him with all the news and information that is at all of any real interest, political, social, scientific, or artistic, general or local in character. Sport and all other varieties of "yellow" news and trashy matter so dear to Tommy or Jimmy on both sides of the Atlantic, with all the cheap excitement and low swagger that befog *our* wage-workers,—these are far below the mental and moral level of a class-trained German proletarian. His party weekly and monthly supply him with all the facts and comment that an up-to-date, intelligent, and class-conscious worker wants to know. Politics, domestic and international, the developments and doings in the

world of technology and economics, in the shop, mine, or field, science and art, and all other important matters reach him through his Socialist daily, weekly, and monthly.

His habit of reading his Socialist press and literature had several effects upon the German worker that were of the highest importance for the development and strength of the Socialist movement in Germany.

In the first place the German wage-worker is thus kept away from the bourgeois press, and to feel the full import of this fact, we must consider the case of the American worker. Our yellow sheets of all dimensions and varieties, high-brow or low-brow, directly or indirectly, stultify our proletarians, sap their thinking powers and their feelings or wear them out with matters that lie far out of the pale of their *permanent* interests as a class, or that are positively detrimental to those interests. The bourgeois press stirs and feeds in our workers the low passion; it crams their brains with sensational accounts of murders, horse shows and other "Society" clap-trap, and fosters a sickening non-proletarian admiration for the "smart set." Again, the cheap detective story and other printed trash of the Sunday editions and the "best sellers," are rammed into our workers to an extent as to leave no room for thinking and feeling along class lines of any kind.

Then come all the cant and unctuous wiles handed down from the pulpit and other stalls where big doses of narcotics are given out free by sky-pilots and other peddlers and dealers in articles of "the beyond the grave." These celestial pills are specially compounded at the behest of capitalism as a very effective drug to keep our wage-slaves staring skywards, into the realms of "the Great Beyond," and thus shut out from their view this our planet and their own class position and aspirations on it. All this oily talk, all the hypnotic spells coming from the press, the pulpit, dime novels, sport, and other varieties of befuddling trash, attack the brains of English Tommies and American Jimmies, blur their class vision, dull and dampen their feeling for class, their economic and political solidarity, and stun their will power for intelligent effort to realize class aspirations. Their intellectual horizon is narrowed down by the above tools of capitalism to such an extent that they have neither the time, nor the

ability to think, realize their class position, and revolt as a class.

The German worker has been made proof against all the above disastrous effects in two ways. *Not* reading the capitalist press and other literature in the service of capitalism, he has *not* imbibed any of the poison administered through these channels intended for the intellectual and moral degradation and degeneration of his class. On the other hand, the habit of reading the Socialist press and close study of his party literature has widened his mental outlook, sharpened his critical sense, and stimulated and satisfied his thirst for knowledge, and trained him in scientific thinking. This has rendered him immune from the virus of superstition, the pulpit drug, and all the other bugbears and crazes in the service of capitalism.

The vast literature developed by the Social Democracy covers the entire field of the Socialist movement both at home and abroad and serves all its needs in a most comprehensive and thorough manner. It is a powerful tool for agitation and propaganda and a wonderful means for giving the workers an intellectual training of a high order. It is, besides, a sensitive apparatus assembled, mounted and attuned for recording and reflecting every new phase, every wave and pulsation felt at any point of the whole movement. It gathers all the facts and data that have any bearing on Socialism or the movement as a whole. It dissects, sorts, sifts, and groups this huge mass of material for the benefit of the German wage-workers and, indirectly, for the proletariat of both hemispheres. It beats the record as a medium for collecting and bringing under one focus the entire field of experience in and about the movement, and has no rival in subjecting it to critical interpretation.

This instrument keeps the greater bulk of the German workers in close touch with the entire movement and goads them to do solid thinking down to the very bed-rock of the social present and the historic past,—that is it gives them excellent pointers along the lines of historical materialism, the meaning of the class struggle, and Socialist economics. This equipment gives them their bearings indispensable for steering their course amid the tortuous windings of so vast and complex a movement as the Socialist movement is.

# EDITORIAL

## A Straw Man

FROM time immemorial it has been the custom of men who were afraid to attack their enemies openly and upon their own ground, to erect a *straw man*, roll up their sleeves and beat him up with a great show of valor.

This is what the enemies of the REVIEW are doing. They dare not attack upon our own ground, which is *industrial unionism* and so they have builded a great Man of Straw, which they have called Individual Violence. Just now they have him in the ring and are pummeling him mercilessly before the cameras of their own manufacture.

Their *only fear is that we will continue to teach revolutionary unionism.*

The REVIEW is, above all Socialist Party periodicals, the journal of the working class. This alone is our offense.

As opposed to Labor Partyism, we have advocated the Socialist Party.

As opposed to Fusion with capitalist parties, we have stood for No Compromise.

As opposed to middle class propaganda, we have offered proletarian literature.

Instead of Craft Division, we have taught Class Unionism.

We have ignored the leader in our desires to make the working class self-reliant. We have insisted that elected officials are to take their orders from the workers who elected them. We have demanded of them —service and not rule.

Instead of dynamite, we have urged industrial unionism.

In place of tiger fighting behind street barricades, we have taught organization and the general strike.

Against individual violence, we have made our plea for revolutionary unionism.

It profits the working class nothing to kill scab workingmen or tyrannical bosses. It would benefit them not at all if an individual smashed his machine.

But it would help them in many ways if the workers, as a class, *went very slow on the job.*

*Class* action alone counts and to have *class* action, we must have: Class education and class organization.

We hope the enemies of the REVIEW will go right on killing that Straw Man, Individual Violence. It will keep them from obstructing the way when the industrialists in the Party are out with their Class Union propaganda. It will keep them from fighting us when we insist upon a working class Socialist Party instead of a fusion or labor party.

It is time for our friends to cease replying to the enemies of the REVIEW. We don't propose to be dragged off the main road. We are going right on teaching industrial unionism.

We will continue to educate the workers along class lines on the political and the economic field.

We are not concerned with the acts of individuals in the shops or elsewhere. We are glad to know there are individual rebels in the shops who refuse to be exploited to the limit of human endurance. But *our* concern is the great class war. And the main things are: No compromise on the political field, and revolutionary class unionism on the economic field! Agitate! Educate! Organize!

M. E. M.

**Pouget and Giovannitti on Sabotage.**—The Socialist party voted last year to strike out the "Sabotage" clause from its constitution, and by the same referendum vote adopted the clause. This indicates a deplorable confusion on this subject in the minds of the membership. Our publishing house, therefore, will publish shortly a book entitled "Sabotage," by Emile Pouget, with an introduction by Arturo Giovannitti, which will explain exactly what sabotage means to those who advocate it. The book will also contain a prefatory note explaining our own position on the subject. The price will be 50c in cloth and 25c in paper, with the usual discounts to our stockholders.

**Special to Review Readers.**—During the month of March we will make a clubbing offer of the REVIEW and the *Masses* one year for \$1.50. This is the greatest magazine bargain ever offered our readers. Revolutionary artists have made the *Masses* a magazine you must have in your propaganda work.

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

## BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

**The International News Letter.**—The International Secretariat of National Trade Union Centers, of which Carl Legien is secretary, has begun the circulation of a labor news letter. Hardly anything of the sort could be of greater importance to the labor movement. The letter goes to about 1,200 working-class papers outside of Germany. The first regular number is dated January 10, and it is to appear weekly from now on. It carries condensed labor news concerning all the countries of Europe, America, and Australasia. It may be, of course, that the Secretariat has been led to take this new step as a result of the publication for some time past of a similar letter by the French syndicalists. But no matter what led to its appearance, the news letter furnishes the best means yet available for improving the relations of the labor movements of the world.

**The Balkan War and the Bulgarian Labor Movement.**—First place among the items brought to the notice of the public by the new publication must be given to a letter with regard to present conditions in Bulgaria. One of the incidental results of war is the almost certain destruction of labor organizations in the countries involved. The trades unions of Bulgaria are nearly wiped out. To put them on their feet again is a work of international importance. In order to place the demands of the situation before the working-class of the world, Mr. Dimitroff, secretary of the Bulgarian central organization, has sent out the following letter:

“Owing to the strict censorship in this country, which affects even private correspondence, I regret very much that I am unable to present to my foreign comrades a clear picture of the situation here. I can not give all the facts necessary to this end. Nor can I inform them definitely of the probable consequences of the war so far as they will affect the fighting proletariat.

“On September 30th the order was given for the mobilization of all the armed forces throughout the land, and on October 18th military operations against the Turks were begun. All who had served

in the army and had not on the issue of the order completed their 46th year were called to the colors. All recruits who would have been called up in 1913 were enlisted. Orders were given that those who were under obligation to serve in 1914 should be summoned before the attestation committee and attested for service. Macedonians living in Bulgaria were compelled to serve in the Macedonian Volunteer Corps. Only those who had not reached the age of 18 were free from compulsory military service. To the elder men fell the duty of guarding magazines, some being attached to the Red Cross contingents. Employes in the postal and telegraph services, likewise workers in the state-owned collieries and railways, were placed under military control so as to ensure the continuation of their work during the time of war.

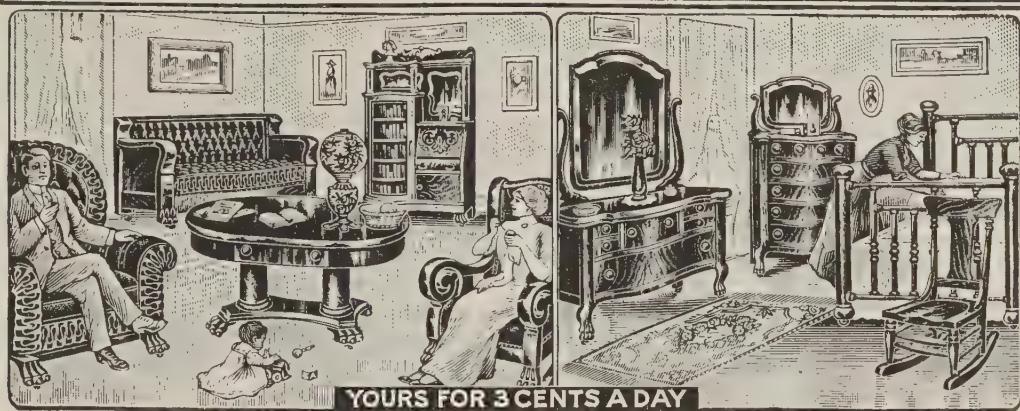
“The effect on industry was immediate. Goods were turned out exclusively for the army. All tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, blacksmiths and factory employes were obliged to work for the Army Purveyors Commission with no pay except their keep.

“The workmen’s clubs and meeting rooms were turned into workshops for the military authorities or into magazines and hospitals.

“The entire country was placed under military law, and the strictest censorship of the press and correspondence was established. Public meetings were forbidden, and even private talks in public places were placed under the ban. And in order that the labor press might not be able to disturb the efforts of the bourgeois press to engineer an outburst of patriotism, the authorities suspended all working-class publications.

“Under such circumstances all activity of our organizations has been suspended. It has become impossible for them to do their work. Out of 10,000 Socialist trades union members only 500 at the most—not counting the railway, telegraph and post-office employes—remain at home. And these are either out of work or expect to become so at any moment.

“To the Bulgarian Trades Unions falls



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the task of providing for their members and, especially, of saving from misery the families of members who are on the field of battle. The desperate state of the workers and their families is indescribable. The cost of food is constantly rising and the cold weather of the winter season adds greatly to the suffering.

"From the following few details one will be able to picture the inhuman way in which the families of the workers, whose bread-winners pour out their blood upon the field of battle, are being plundered.

"A sack of grain which before the mobilization cost 25 francs now costs 40. In the same way all the necessaries of life, including coal, have risen in price. The Socialist representatives on the municipal boards have been successful in some cases in obtaining money relief for needy families. In Sofia 500,000 francs were voted; in Varna, 50,000, etc. But one can easily imagine that this assistance is not enough; to make matters worse, a good part of the money goes to persons not entitled to it.

"The trades unions are, therefore, compelled to support their own members and their families. Out of the 30,000 francs in the union treasury at the beginning of the war only a very small amount remains. Should the present state of affairs continue much longer the unions will not be able to do anything without help from comrades in other lands. The burden becomes constantly worse as those wounded on the battlefield are brought back to be cared for by their families and friends.

"Whatever may be the outcome of the war, one thing is certain: the labor movement of Bulgaria will experience a period of extraordinary difficulty. In these troublous times we have but one consolation and hope, and that is that we may reckon on the support of the international proletariat."

**The Pope and the Labor Unions.**—The Roman church is more and more taking an active part in the affairs of labor. There is no lack of signs that the authority of the papacy will before many years be invoked to reinforce the conservative forces in the various organizations making up the American Federation of Labor. In view of this fact it is rather surprising that so little attention has been given to

the recently published encyclical dealing with the relation of Roman Catholics to the various unions in Germany. In this pronouncement Pope Pius X states definitely what are the duties of members of his flock to the church on the one side and to the unions on the other. If it is to be taken for granted that the law laid down for Germans applies to Roman Catholics throughout the world, this encyclical is of the utmost importance.

Besides the "free" unions there are in Germany "Christian" and "Catholic" unions. The free unions include, of course, the great body of organized labor, some 2,000,000 men and women. The other organizations together include a few hundred thousands. For years past there has been a bitter conflict among Roman Catholic labor leaders as to whether workers of their faith should be allowed to join the Christian unions, which include in their membership adherents of other churches, or whether they should be exclusively organized in the Catholic unions. In Cologne, the center of the chief industrial region dominated by the Catholics, the leaders are in favor of membership in the Christian organization; in Berlin, on the contrary, the Catholic leaders have fought bitterly for their own organization and against the Christian unions. The struggle between these two tendencies, dubbed the Cologne tendency and the Berlin tendency, has caused bitter dissension within the Centrist party.

More than once this conflict has been carried to Rome. Formerly, however, the influence of Cardinal Fischer, Bishop of Cologne, was able to prevent a clear declaration against the unions of mixed religious confessions. Now Cardinal Fischer is dead and his diocese is soon to pass into the hands of a man who bitterly opposes the solidarity of Catholic laborers with those of any other faith. And the Pope has spoken definitely in favor of the Berlin idea. Henceforth German Catholic laborers are to be organized separately and definitely under the authority of the bishops.

"Concerning the organizations of workers," says the encyclical, "though their purpose is to gain earthly advantages for their members, yet those are to be regarded as most suitable and best calcu-

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lated to secure permanent good which are founded upon the Catholic religion and recognize the church as their leader.

... It follows from this that Catholic unions are to be organized and supported in all Catholic regions and in all others where it can be taken for granted that such unions can satisfy the needs of their members. As concerning organizations which have to do with religion or morals, it can on no account be justifiable to found and support in the regions just mentioned such organizations composed of Catholics and non-Catholics.

... We give, then, our fullest approval to all exclusively Catholic labor organizations and wish them success in their efforts on behalf of the working-class and hope to see them enjoy a constantly increasing measure of success."

In another passage it is provided that Catholics who, in case of necessity, join an interconfessional union shall have a separate organization of their own under the direct supervision of their bishop. In this separate organization all activities of the general union are to be passed upon and the members are to do nothing without the ecclesiastical approval. Specifically, all Catholics are ordered, in their unions and outside of them, to encourage "no enmities between the classes of capitalist society, on the contrary to labor for peace and mutual affection."

It is interesting in connection with these peremptory commands to remember that there has never been any attention given to the fact that Catholics and non-Catholics labor together in employers associations. There seems to be no danger to faith in this sort of association.

So far as Catholic workers are concerned, the upshot of the whole matter is that they are placed absolutely at the disposal of their bishops. And this means that in case of strike they will be forced to play the part of strike-breakers.

The encyclical is dated September 24, but already we have had an example of its working. It will be remembered that last year the free unions lost their great strike in the coal mines of the Ruhr district because the Christian unions remained at work. Early in January they had the tables nicely turned on them by their Catholic brethren. The Christian unionists in the Saar district decided to

go on strike. Wages in the government-owned mines had been reduced beyond what even they were willing to bear. The strike was to be called on January 2. The Catholic clergy of the region simultaneously directed their members to remain at work. Suddenly, at the last moment, the Christian leaders called off their strike.

A leading Roman Catholic journal, published at St. Louis, asks: "What, then, must we Americans do to conform with the Pope's encyclical; or, if Rome would have to speak to us—as seems most probable that Rome will do before very long, on account of the growth of Socialist influence in the unions—what must we do to convince the Holy Father of our loyalty in this respect?

**Hungary—The General Strike as a Political Weapon.**—In Hungary, as in Belgium, the general strike is to be used to obtain a modern electoral law. After being promised universal adult male suffrage the workers of Hungary are now about to have given to them a five-class system. The wealthier and better educated classes are to count four or five times as much as the poor and uneducated.

To meet the threat involved in the presentation of this law to parliament the Socialist Party of Hungary held a special congress at Budapest on January 28. With perfect unanimity and great enthusiasm a resolution was adopted calling upon the party executive committee and all labor organizations to take all measures necessary to the calling of a general strike. In case the general strike does not prevent the passage of the law, the Party declares its purpose of refusing to take part in the elections under the law.

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# NEWS AND VIEWS

**Denver on Haywood**—Whereas, Comrade Wm. D. Haywood is a member of the 2nd Ward Branch of the Socialist party of Denver, and, whereas the New York State Committee of the Socialist party has instituted a referendum for his recall from the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party, declaring that Comrade Haywood never advocated the use of the ballot by the workers, but advocated sabotage instead, and, whereas Comrade Haywood during the miners' strike in Colorado constantly warned the strikers to beware of violence, and, whereas Comrade Haywood has been a Socialist for many years and has delivered many addresses in Denver in which he always advocated the use of the ballot by the workers, therefore, be it resolved that we value Comrade Haywood as a Socialist and comrade and respect his position on Industrial Unionism.—A. G. Bruhm, secretary.

**Local Alameda**.—In view of the fact that THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW, has through its policy of adhering to straight revolutionary Socialism, drawn upon itself the criticism of so-called Socialist writers, and in our opinion such writers and the results of their efforts are more fitted for a "Bull Moose" outfit, and further considering the fact that there is but one kind of Socialism really worth our efforts, Be it resolved that we, the Socialists of Branch Alameda, Alameda, Cal., at a regular meeting held December 17, hereby express our confidence in the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. And at the same time commend the management of said publication for the able and fearless manner in which the magazine is edited. Pledging our support, it is our wish that the present policy of the REVIEW be adhered to, regardless of the screaming of the reformers, and the criticism of some of the 57 varieties. Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be mailed to the *National Socialist*, the *Oakland World*, the *California Social Democrat* and the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Yours for the Revolution, Branch Alameda Socialist Party, per E. J. Paterson, secretary.

**From Australia**.—A comrade from Australia writes us a letter in which he says: "An establishment that is acting as a bomb factory, so to speak, in shattering tradition, conventionalism, patriotism and all latter day offspring of bourgeois morality, must experience great difficulty in maintaining itself, as all the battering rams of capitalism will be used to sink it into oblivion. The REVIEW is the best and most fearless American magazine.

**Seventeen From One**.—Comrade Morgan of St. David, Illinois, sends in \$17.00 for seventeen yearly subscriptions and is getting \$17.00 worth of our Socialist books free as a premium for his library. This is the kind of work that makes for a strong Socialist movement. Seventeen party members will receive the REVIEW each month and these books are a splendid beginning for a real Socialist library.

**From New Zealand Socialist Party—Auckland Branch**.—Dear Comrades: Enclosed please find five-pound money order for REVIEWS. REVIEW is selling splendidly and most of our chaps can't do without it. Last month we sold over eighty copies on a Sunday night at the Opera House. Don't forget one hundred copies per month. As long as the REVIEW is uncompromising we shall enthusiastically support it.—E. Jensen, literature secretary.

**From Australian Comrades, Melbourne**.—Herewith find money order for one pound one shilling, please send us twenty-four REVIEWS a month for three months. Your Comrade, H. J. Cruickshank.

**Jamestown, N. Y.**—In looking over my files find that the REVIEW contains the true history of every strike of consequence of recent years. No Socialist can afford to be without a complete file.—Mary S. Cornwell.

**Here Is a Hot One**.—The getting of the REVIEW may cause me to lose my job, but I don't care so much for that as long as I get the REVIEW. Yours for the Revolution.—J. F. G., Big Eddy, Ore.

**Lemmon, S. Dak.**—Enclosed please find \$1.00 for renewal to that grand old guard of the Socialist movement, THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. Yours for Socialism, Leon A. Potter.

**Bellingham, Wash.**—I am very well pleased with your magazine, the articles are very interesting and want to assure you I will remain one of your subscribers and some day will work to enlarge its sphere of usefulness.—B. E. Musser.

**Luzerne, Pa.**—Enclosed find \$3.00 money order, for which please send me a bundle of 60 REVIEWS. The last bunch sold fast and I really didn't have enough.—Harry Seward.

**Ashland Library**.—The Socialist Party Local of Ashland, Pennsylvania, has a new plan for building up a library which we want our readers to know about. The first order was for \$30.00 worth of books at cost. Comrade Lessig writes: "This is the beginning of a Socialist library for Branch Ashland, to which we will add from time to time. The branch gets these books by borrowing one dollar from each comrade. The name of each comrade is placed on a card and deposited in a box and when the library is opened each person wishing to use the books will pay a membership fee of 25 cents and 5 cents a week for the use of the books. From this income we will pay back the money borrowed, drawing a card from the box as soon as a dollar is on hand and paying it to the person whose name appears on the card. In this way we get outsiders interested and get a library for nothing."

**Forty Subscriptions More**.—Comrade Goldstein of Rochester, New York, sent in \$10.00 for 40 three-months' REVIEW subscriptions, all sent to new names. As a premium for these, she received \$10.00 worth of our books free.

This is the kind of work our hustlers are doing and it is what is building up the REVIEW and getting it into the hands of new readers. We hope others will write for our free book plan offer and help to double the REVIEW subscription list this year.

**A Good Idea.**—Comrade Maule from Cholame, California, writes: "I commenced taking the REVIEW in September (1911), and ever since that I have been taking every four numbers as they came each month and fastening them together with a stout cord. Then I would paste a heavy cloth over them, making one large volume out of the four issues. Four REVIEWS bound in one volume contains about as much good reading matter on Socialism as any large book, besides, they are handy. I lend them out to neighbors because they do good propaganda work."

**Local Springfield** has initiated a referendum whereby every party member shall be assessed \$1.00 for the purpose of buying national headquarters for the Socialist party. The comrades say this would enable us to save about \$5,000 a year on rent and give the party a building of their own.

**Comrade Dutler of Goldfield** sends in the cash for twenty yearly REVIEW subscriptions. He says the boys in the mines think the REVIEW is the best magazine published, and he intends to push the circulation everywhere he goes. Hope our other friends in the shops and mills will do likewise. We always know we are on the right track when our friends in the industries tell us to "go ahead."

**The Esmond Strikers** who are out demanding an increase in wages are putting up a good fight at Centerdale, R. I. There are only 350 of them, but they seem likely to win if they are not driven back by hunger. Put a dollar in an envelope and send it to Charles Carpenter, Box 50, Centerdale, R. I., and help feed them while they fight. This is our battle as well as theirs.

**The Banner to Washington.**—State Secretary Bostrom of Washington holds the banner on orders for scientific literature this month. During the past three weeks we have received orders for over \$300 from him for our books. This explains why the Socialists in Washington are among the most intelligent and revolutionary in this country. Where sound literature goes, the movement is always clear and permanent. Congratulations to the Washington comrades.

**From Northville, Mich.**—Dear Comrades: Enclosed please find P. O. order for \$1.00 for which you will please send me the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for one year. I have been trying to get it lately through the news stands and sometimes I get it and sometimes not. I have been honored (?) lately by receiving free copies of that publication known as the *National Socialist*, or *Berger's Bellyache*. I had formerly fondly imagined that the Socialist party existed for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism. Nothing of the sort. The Socialist party exists for the purpose of overthrowing one, Wm. D. Haywood, everybody help. Sometimes I have a lurking suspicion that the

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capitalist class, despairing of holding the working class in check with the old weapons, A. F. of L., profit sharing, forward movement, etc., have enlisted the aid of a few of the intellectual, political Socialists to help out on the job. Let the good work go on. Suppose they do split the party. They should all go get a bible and read the story of Gideon's Army and find out what sort of guys done the fighting. Not the step at a timer's, but those who went the whole distance in the least possible time. The road stretches out broad and straight today to Industrial Liberty. Let us hurry and get there and enjoy it while we are yet young and know how. Yours for a two-fisted fighting working class, Lloyd C. Clifford.

Renew my subscription to the REVIEW. Wouldn't be without it at any price.—F. W. Battenhouse, 515 33rd street, Oakland, Cal.

**Another Live One.**—I enclose P. O. order for 50 cents. Please mail me five copies of the January INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. I enclose order for five copies of your January issue which gives me an opportunity of introducing the Red Flag into several households where it is unknown or allowed with Helen Kellar as chaperone. The cover is excellent. If it could be retained and the picture below changed monthly, it might help to sell the magazine; besides, in handling cattle, I have found it expedient to get my bulls used to the sight of a red flag. For my purpose the January issue is a very good one. The article on the A. F. of L., the Chicago Daily and the Acquittal of Eitor, read with Russell's "What Next," your editorials and Bohn's Notes, make it what its name claims, a REVIEW. I should like the editorial columns extended to cover the whole field when, in any month's issue, any matters necessary to be understood are not treated in the body of the magazine. One minute more of your attention before this goes into the W. P. B. You will say that you are not catering for a capitalist like me (a poor devil of a farmer whose ownership of land has kept him broke for thirty years), but it seems to me that industrialism and direct action will only win their way in Socialism, and Socialism in society generally, to the intent that they are rightly understood. Yours very truly, Tom Swain, Paradox, Colo.

From Shelbyville, Ind.—Enclosed find M. O. for \$1.00 for which please send to my address, 20 copies of the February REVIEW. Just received my last order for 20 copies Saturday night, and yesterday, Sunday morning, I put them under my arm and started out and before returning I had disposed of all of them, making \$1.00 profit to the Socialist local at this place. I donate my time and give the profit to the local.—C. E. Kennedy.

From Shattuck, Okla.—Enclosed find \$1.00 for which send me the "Fighting Magazine," INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW. What you advocate is true and the workers are beginning to wake up to the fact. The article "You and Your Vote" in last August number is exactly right; I wish every worker in the world could read it.—L. T. Green.

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One woman engages you—then next door neighbor wants you. So it goes. Think of the homes that need cleaning—think of churches, halls, lodge rooms, hotels, etc., that need cleaning—extra big jobs and extra big money.

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It is the greatest dirt puller I ever saw. I can make \$20 a day with it which I think is good for the investment. My customers are well pleased with my work. I have three or four regular customers by the month. A. W. Staley, Ill.

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